



Aalborg Universitet

AALBORG UNIVERSITY
DENMARK

The Horn of Africa and the US "War on Terror" with special Focus on Somalia

Møller, Bjørn

Publication date:
2009

Document Version
Publisher's PDF, also known as Version of record

[Link to publication from Aalborg University](#)

Citation for published version (APA):

Møller, B. (2009). *The Horn of Africa and the US "War on Terror" with special Focus on Somalia*. Institut for Historie, Internationale Studier og Samfundsforhold, Aalborg Universitet.

General rights

Copyright and moral rights for the publications made accessible in the public portal are retained by the authors and/or other copyright owners and it is a condition of accessing publications that users recognise and abide by the legal requirements associated with these rights.

- Users may download and print one copy of any publication from the public portal for the purpose of private study or research.
- You may not further distribute the material or use it for any profit-making activity or commercial gain
- You may freely distribute the URL identifying the publication in the public portal -

Take down policy

If you believe that this document breaches copyright please contact us at vbn@aub.aau.dk providing details, and we will remove access to the work immediately and investigate your claim.



DIIPER

Development, Innovation and
International Political
Economy Research

Aalborg University
Fibigerstraede 2-8a
DK-9220 Aalborg East

Phone: +45 9940 9813
Fax: +45 9635 0044

Mail: diiper@lists.ihis.aau.dk

**The Horn of Africa and the US
"War on Terror" with a special
Focus on Somalia**

Bjørn Møller

DIIPER RESEARCH SERIES

WORKING PAPER NO. 16



ISSN: 1902-8679

© 2009 Bjørn Møller
The Horn of Africa and the US “War on Terror” with a special Focus on Somalia
Development, Innovation and International Political Economy Research (DIIPER)
Aalborg University
Denmark
DIIPER Research Series
Working Paper No. 16

ISSN 1902-8679

Published by
DIIPER & Department of History, International and Social Studies
Aalborg University

Distribution
Download as PDF on
<http://www.diiper.ihis.aau.dk/research/3397011>

Lay-out and word processing
Cirkeline Kappel

The Secretariat
Development, Innovation and International Political Economy Research
Fibigerstraede 2, room 99
Aalborg University
DK-9220 Aalborg East
Denmark
Tel. + 45 9940 8310
Fax. + 45 9635 0044

E-mail: diiper@lists.ihis.aau.dk
Homepage: <http://www.diiper.ihis.dk/>

The Horn of Africa and the US “War on Terror” with a Special Focus on Somalia¹

Bjørn Møller²

Abstract

Even though the war on terror proclaimed by President Bush after 9/11 2001 has mainly focused on Afghanistan and Iraq, the Horn of Africa has also featured quite prominently. The US assumes that this subregion is particularly prone to terrorism, both in the sense of a battlefield, breeding ground and hiding place for terrorists—especially of the Islamist or Jihadist brand. These assumptions have motivated the launch of several regional counter-terrorist initiatives. Closer analysis of the historical record and the available statistics, however, provide no empirical support for these assumptions. On the contrary, the incidence of terrorism on the Horn is generally quite low, most terrorist incidents are politically motivated, and those in which religion plays a role have mainly been perpetrated by a sectarian Christian movement, the Lord’s Resistance Army.

The paper then focuses on Somalia, showing how statelessness has persisted since 1991, yet with some redeeming features and significant elements of order. This incipient stateless order was upset by US attempts, in the Spring of 2006, of forging a counterterrorist alliance of warlords. This provoked a countervailing alliance of Islamic courts which emerged victorious in the summer of 2006, taking control of Mogadishu and most of the rest of the country. This in turn provoked an Ethiopian military intervention in December 2006, ostensibly in

¹ This paper was presented at the Horn of Africa Workshop: What is the Way out: Challenges in Overcoming Governance Crises, Endemic Conflicts and Negative External Involvements in the Horn of Africa? The workshop took place May 26, 2008 at Aalborg University and was hosted by Development, Innovation and International Political Economy Research (DIIPER) in Collaboration with Centre for Comparative Integration Studies (CCIS), Aalborg University.

² Bjørn Møller is Senior Researcher at DIIS. He holds an MA in History and a Ph.D. in International Relations, both from the University of Copenhagen. Since 1985, he has been (senior) researcher at the Copenhagen Peace Research Institute (COPRI), which in 2003 became part of the Danish Institute for International Studies (DIIS), where he is attached to the Defence and Security research unit. He served as Secretary General of the International Peace Research Association (IPRA) from 1997 to 2000, was external lecturer at the Institute of Political Studies, University of Copenhagen from 1994 to 2006 and at the Centre of African Studies since 2002. In the academic year 2003/04, he served as Visiting Associate Professor at the research centre on Development and International Relations (DIR) at Aalborg University, where he is presently external lecturer. In addition to being the author of numerous articles and editor of seven anthologies, he is the author of three books.

support of the otherwise moribund and impotent Transitional Federal Government and with explicit US support. Having defeated the Union of Islamic Courts, however, neither the TFG nor Ethiopia, the African Union or the United States have been able to restore order in the country which has, moreover, been designated as a battle ground for the war against the infidels by the Al Qaeda network.

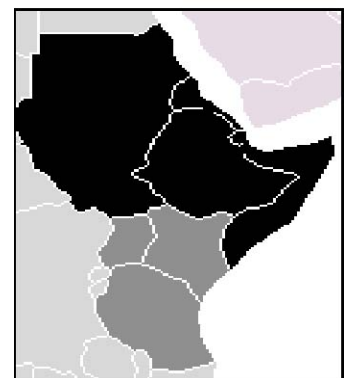
1. Preface

The Horn of Africa has long attracted the attention of external players, first in the era of European colonialism and then during the Cold War when it became an arena for the global struggle between East and West. Most recently, it has drawn the attention of the United States as a potential hotspot of international terrorism, as a consequence of which Washington has launched several programs, all intended to prevent or defeat terrorism in the Horn of Africa.

The paper critically investigates some of the underlying assumptions of these program, finding most of them to be unfounded. It then proceeds to zoom in on Somalia, which has especially been in the spotlight in recent years. The article provides an account and analysis of the issues of nationalism, religion, clanism and state-building in post-independence Somalia as a preliminary to a more detailed study of the recent crisis, pitting a weak transitional government backed by neighboring Ethiopia against a loose union of Islamic courts. It concludes by outlining two possible scenarios for the future—an optimistic, but unlikely and a more likely, but profoundly pessimistic one.

2. External Powers in the Horn of Africa

The Horn of Africa (HoA) subregion is here defined as comprising Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Somalia and Sudan, but other analysts have included Kenya in the subregion, while some have excluded Sudan from it.¹ One also sometimes encounters the term “Greater HoA”, defined as comprising the Horn itself as well as Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania. In-between the two is the delimitation of the subregional organization IGAD (Intergovernmental Authority on Development), to which Kenya and Uganda, but not Tanzania, belong.²



Not only the United States but other external powers have long played important role in the HoA. During the scramble for Africa in the late 19th Century,³ both the UK, France and Italy were eager to impose their colonial suzerainty over parts of the subregion.

- The French established themselves in French Somaliland, i.e. the present Djibouti.⁴
- The Italians made bits for Somalia where they established a colony in the southern parts,⁵ as well as for the present Eritrea and Ethiopia. They were, however, defeated by the latter in 1896 in the famous battle of Adwa.⁶
- The lion's share was, as elsewhere, taken by the British, who not only established themselves in British Somaliland, i.e. the present Somaliland. They also beat the French to the control of the Sudan (at Fashoda)⁷ over which they established a peculiar form of condominium rule jointly with Egypt.⁸

As elsewhere in the world, however, the United States showed no particular interest in establishing colonies. On the other hand, the Ethiopian empire embarked on a project of territorial expansion into neighboring territories, representing a form of intra-African imperialism.⁹

The colonial period also saw isolated instances of what is most appropriately called national liberation, but might today have been labeled “Islamist terrorism,” especially in Sudan and British Somaliland. The Mahdist revolt from 1881-1885 against combined Egyptian-Ottoman rule was led by Muhammed Ahmad (1843-1885) who proclaimed himself Mahdi, i.e. “righteous”.¹⁰ Demanding the establishment of an Islamic state and the imposition of shari’a, he proclaimed a jihad against the infidels, thus launching what essentially amounted to a war of national independence for Sudan. His followers were a blend of devout ordinary Muslims and former slave traders, whose business had been damaged by the British anti-slavery raids¹¹ and the imposition by the UK of anti-slavery legislation in Egypt (hence also in Sudan). The armed struggle of the Mahdist Dervishes was remarkably successful, leading by 1884 to an Egyptian withdrawal followed by the fall of Khartoum to the Dervishes and the establishment of the Islamic state, the Mahdiyyah. Upon the death in 1885 of the Mahdi, his successor Abdallahi ibn Muhammad established a khalifate, which proceeded with the jihad, e.g. with raids into southern Sudan and even Ethiopia and Egypt.¹² These offensives, however, brought the UK into the struggle in a big way. London in 1895 issued an order to reconquer Sudan, in which endeavor the British forces finally succeeded in the battle of Omdurman in September 1898, followed by a total collapse of the Mahdist forces in November 1898.¹³ In the following decades the Anglo-Egyptian condominium rule saw a few small Mahdist rebellions (in 1900, 1902/03, 1904, 1908 and 1916), but none that represented a serious challenge.¹⁴

Even though it followed the tradition of indirect rule, British colonialism in northern Somalia was contested by parts of the local population, partly inspired by the Mahdist revolt in Sudan, and led by the Sheik Mohammed Abdile Hassan. In 1895 he launched a religiously-inspired revolt (the Darawiish or Dervish revolt) in 1895. It featured guerilla warfare, but also established de facto

statehood in liberated parts of the territory. This revolt by the “Mad Mullah” (as he was called by the British) was only quelled around 1920, partly by means of rather brutal air strikes.¹⁵

Whereas the First World War had no major impact on the HoA, its successor produced as certain rearrangement of the colonial map, as the UK managed to dislodge Italy from its possessions. These included Ethiopia which the fascist regime in the 1930s had finally managed (with the utmost brutality) to subdue and incorporate it into its *Africa Orientale Italiana*.¹⁶ Having liberated Ethiopia, the UK in 1942 recognized its independence while maintaining its hold on parts of its territory and playing around with ideas of a “Greater Somalia” and/or an East African federation until 1954.¹⁷ By and large, however, the colonial map maintained intact until the wave of independence hit the HoA in the late 1950s. As in most other parts of the continent, independence was achieved around 1960 and generally without major conflicts, yet followed by a slight reshuffling of the territorial cards. Formerly Italian Eritrea was thus first federated with independent Ethiopia and subsequently incorporated directly,¹⁸ while British and Italian Somalia merged almost immediately after independence.¹⁹

By that time, however, the subregion was partly subjected to the Cold War dynamics, coming to be viewed by both East and West as part of the “grand chessboard” of global geopolitics,²⁰ albeit merely an arena of minor importance, where involvement mainly took place in the form of arms provisions, sometimes in return for base rights.²¹ Because of the weakness of the states in the subregion, however, even such a minor and half-hearted involvement by a great or superpower could make a tremendous difference. Even though the HoA was thus very much “penetrated” by the global East-West conflict, the impact of the latter fell short of “overlay” in the terminology of Barry Buzan and associates.²² The pattern of alignment was neither altogether clear nor particularly durable as the “ties of amity and enmity” to a large extent remained indigenous—the most persistent being the perennial Ethiopian-Somali rivalry.

As argued by Jeffrey Lefebvre, “one cannot be friends with both Ethiopia and Somalia. Those who wish to meddle in the affairs of the Horn must be prepared to choose sides.”²³ During the Cold War, both superpowers came to realize this. The United States thus supported Ethiopia during the reign of Emperor Haile Selassie in return for some base rights in what is now Eritrea, i.e. the “Kagnew Station”, the importance of which did, however, gradually decline. Partly as a result thereof, but also because of the Marxist and increasingly pro-Soviet leaning of the Derg in Addis Ababa under the dictator Mengistu Haile Mariam,²⁴ Washington gradually shifted its support to Somalia.²⁵ The Soviet Union, in turn, supported the avowedly Afro-Marxist Siyad Barre regime in Somalia until around 1976 when it gradually shifted its support to the Derg in Ethiopia. The

Soviet ally (or even proxy) Cuba provided troops for the Derg's defense against Somalia as well as, to some extent, its counterinsurgency campaigns against the various liberation movements—albeit significantly not for the struggle against the EPFL (Eritrean People's Liberation Front), which Havana had previously supported.²⁶

The USSR already began its almost complete disengagement from all of Africa during the Gorbachev era,²⁷ thereby removing the Cold War dynamics of alignment that had previously pushed the USA engage itself in the HoA. In the immediate aftermath of the Cold War the United States nevertheless became involved in Somalia in the form of a humanitarian intervention (*vide infra*). However, when this failed dismally, the USA disengaged almost as completely as Russia, not only from Somalia or the HoA subregion, but from Africa in general.²⁸

Throughout the Cold War period, the USA was on quite friendly terms with Sudan most of the time, albeit with a considerable cooling off of relations in the period when Nimeiri was “flirting” with the USSR, as well as after the assumption of power in Khartoum by the National Islamic Front (NIF) in 1989.²⁹ They did, however, maintain an engagement, e.g. with regard to the North-South conflict in which they at various stages sought to play the role of “honest broker.”³⁰ What has hampered these praiseworthy efforts is, however, the “terror issue,” to which we shall now turn.

3. The War on Terror and the HoA

Many analysts have argued that the terrorist attacks against the USA on the 11th of September “changed everything.” This is surely an exaggeration, but there is little doubt that it did have a profound interest on the US attitude towards the rest of the world and that this was predestined to impact the world order, considering the US position in the unipolar world.³¹

3.1 The Global War on Terror and the Horn of Africa

Following the 11 September 2001 attacks against the United States, US President Bush proclaimed a “war on terror.”

On September the 11th, enemies of freedom committed an act of war against our country (...) Our war on terror (...) will not end until every terrorist group of global reach has been found, stopped and defeated. (...) We will direct every resource at our command—every means of diplomacy, every tool of intelligence, every instrument of law enforcement, every financial influence, and every necessary weapon of war—to the disruption and to the defeat of the global terror network.³²

The United Nations implicitly gave its approval when the Security Council in resolution 1368 (12th of September 2001) explicitly called terrorism a “threat to international peace and security” and referred to the “inherent right of self-defense” endorsed by the UN Charter.³³ This was echoed by NATO’s formal activation of the article five of the North Atlantic Charter, i.e. its collective defense clause.³⁴ The proverbial *opinio juris* also seems to be in agreement on the permissibility of even anticipatory or pre-emptive self-defense against such threats, as this seems to be the only way of parrying them—e.g. by attacking such known bases of terrorists as had been established in Afghanistan. To wage a “war” on terror thus seems to be in conformity with international law in the sense of *jus ad bellum*, from which one can, on the other hand, neither conclude that the actual war is waged in conformity with the *jus in bello* criteria nor that it is wise to wage it.³⁵

Even considering the US tradition of declaring “wars” against such phenomena as drugs, crime, abortion, and even obesity, to declare war is still something special.³⁶ It signifies that “the gloves come off” and that normal rules and behavioral constraints no longer apply. It thus meets the criteria of “securitization”—a term invented by Ole Wæver for the “speech act” of discursively constructing a problem as being of existential importance and extreme urgency, hence warranting a resort to “extraordinary measures.”³⁷ It has thus served to legitimate a curtailment of civil liberties in the countries of the West and elsewhere in the name of national security against terrorism,³⁸ but it has also served to legitimate military actions.

The military element of the war on terror has been lumped together by the United States as “Operation Enduring Freedom,” (OEF),³⁹ comprising several campaigns: the war against the Taliban in Afghanistan (OEF-Afghanistan) followed by the OEF-Philippines, the OEF-Pankisi Gorge and two which relate directly to Africa: The OEF-Trans Sahara is the military component of the somewhat broader Trans Sahara Counterterrorism Initiative (PSCI) which is a successor to what was called the Pan-Sahel Initiative (PSI) from 2002 to 2004. The OEF-Horn of Africa is a follow-up to the EACTI (East Africa Counter-Terrorism Initiative) program and includes the Combined Joint Task Force-Horn of Africa (CJTFHOA).⁴⁰ While it remained, at the time of writing, subordinated to the US Central Command (CENTCOM), the decision had been taken to transfer the CJTF-HOA to the new Africa Command (AFRICOM) with initial operating capability (IOC) scheduled for October 2007 and expected to be fully operational a year later.⁴¹ The headquarters of CJTF-HOA is at Camp Lemonier in Djibouti. Its area of operations comprises the territories of Djibouti, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Kenya, the Seychelles, Somalia, Sudan and Yemen, and its mission is described as

... operations and training to assist host nations to combat terrorism in order to establish a secure environment and enable regional stability. The mission is focused on detecting, disrupting and ultimately defeating transnational terrorist groups operating in the region—denying safe havens, external support and material assistance for terrorist activity. CJTF-HOA counters the re-emergence of transnational terrorism in the region through civil-military operations and support of non-governmental organization operations, enhancing the long-term stability of the region.

The activities it lists on its website are mainly civilian such as “providing clean water, functional schools, improved roadways and improved medical facilities,” i.e. it portrays itself as devoted to “winning hearts and minds” tasks.⁴² Besides this, however, it has also been involved in military operations, e.g. in Somalia, to which we shall return in due course.

Even prior to these new initiatives, however, terrorism had impacted the US policy towards the Horn of Africa, especially as far as Sudan was concerned. Under the auspices of its “rogue states” doctrine⁴³ the United States had kept an eye on especially Sudan because of its Islamist regime and supposed links with international terrorism,⁴⁴ and in 1993 the country was first placed on the US State Department’s list of countries sponsoring international terrorism.⁴⁵ Following the terrorist attacks on the US embassies in Nairobi and Dar Es Salaam in August 1998,⁴⁶ the United States even launched a missile attack against a the a-Shifa pharmaceutical plant in Sudan, alleged to be a covert production site for chemical weapons (including the dreaded VX agent)—a mistake which was later (almost) admitted.⁴⁷ In the wake of 11 September, Sudan pledged its support for the US.⁴⁸ It has not yet, however, managed to be stricken from the US list of “state sponsors of terrorism,” even though in the most recent issue of the US State Department’s Country Reports on Terrorism it is described as nothing less than “a strong partner in the War on Terror” which “aggressively pursued terrorist operations directly involving threats to U.S. interests and personnel in Sudan.”⁴⁹

3.2 The Horn of Africa: A Hotspot of Terrorism?

It has become a commonplace in the US discourse, including the academic literature, that the Horn of Africa (or, more broadly, East Africa) is a particularly dangerous place, i.e. a hotspot of terrorism, particularly of the “jihadist” kind.⁵⁰ The arguments in favor of this view vary: Some allege that it is the weakness of the states in the region which make them particularly susceptible to terrorism and that, a fortiori, collapsed states such as Somalia will serve as staging areas, hiding places or operational bases for terrorist attacks.⁵¹ Others argue that extremist versions of Islam are making headway in the subregion, having

already become established in Sudan and now moving also to Somalia and Kenya, and that this is likely to produce more jihadist terrorism.⁵²

However, the available statistical data do not seem to really support the alarmist view of the threat.⁵³ Table 1 is compiled as a complete listing of all the terrorists incidents in the region, based on the incident records in the “Terrorism Knowledge Base,” which is referred to as the authoritative database by the very same US Counterterrorism Office which has placed the spotlight on East Africa.⁵⁴ It has taken 1998 as the starting year, for the simple reason that this was the first year with data for both international and domestic terrorism. However, 1998 was special because of two almost simultaneous incidents, i.e. the aforementioned attacks on the USA embassies in Kenya and Tanzania on the 7th of August, which account for about one-third of the total fatalities for the entire period and almost ninety percent of the total recorded injuries. The analytical tables 2-4 have therefore also included totals excluding the 1998 figures, i.e. totals for 1999-2005. All the categorizations are based on the present author’s interpretation of the “raw” incident and group descriptions in the database.

The first observation is that neither the total number of terrorist incidents in the region, nor the numbers of deaths or injuries from terrorist attacks seem particularly alarming. Around eleven incidents on average per year with an annual death toll of less than hundred people for the HoA subregion as a whole (See Table 2). Secondly, as is apparent from Table 3, with the exception of the two incidents on the 7th of August 1998, most terrorism has been politically, rather than religiously motivated. Moreover, when religion has been the driving force, it has usually not been Islam but Christianity which has spurred the terrorists into action, albeit the particularly perverted and sectarian form of Christianity represented by the Lord’s Resistance Army (LRA), operating against Uganda from bases in Sudan.⁵⁵ Twenty times as many people have thus perished in terrorist attacks perpetrated by “Christians” than in ones launched by the dreaded Islamist terrorists of the Al Qaeda type. Thirdly, the terrorist risk seems to vary quite a lot from country to country as set out in Table 4. Uganda clearly comes out as the most terrorist-ridden of the eight, at least if the two embassy attacks are excluded. The table also reveals mainland Tanzania as a very secure country, as all the (small-scale) terrorist incidents have taken place on Zanzibar.

Table 1: Terrorist Incidents in East Africa, 1998-2005								
Country	Year	Date	Inc.	Inj.	Fat.	Perp.	Nature	Targ.
Djibouti	2004	18/01	B	6	0	?	?	Train
Eritrea	2003	10/08	As	1	2	EIJM	Isl	Car
	2004	01/03	B	12	3	EIJM	Isl	Hotel
	2004	24/05	B	50	3	?	?	Gov.
Ethiopia	1999	03/04	K	0	0	ONLF	Pol	Aid
	1999	13/11	B	1	2	?	?	Train
	2000	22/03	LM	1	14	OLF	Pol	Kenyans
	2000	17/08	R	0	6	?	?	El. mon.
	2002	23/07	B	?	?	OLF	Pol	Vehicle
	2002	11/09	B	38	1	?	?	Hotel
	2003	19/01	M	1	0	?	?	?
	2003	20/03	B	12	0	?	?	Hotel
	2003	10/09	AA	?	1	?	?	Aid
	2003	26/09	B	9	2	?	?	Train
	2004	04/01	B	0	0	?	?	Vehicle
	2004	05/04	AA	0	0	OLF	Pol	Education
	2004	02/05	AA	3	1	OLF	Pol	Business
	2004	24/06	B	?	?	OLF	Pol	Gov.
Kenya	1998	07/08	B/S	5,000	291	AQ	Isl	US Emb.
	2002	28/11	R	0	0	AQ	Isl	Aircraft
	2002	28/11	B/S	80	13	AQ	Isl	Hotel
	2002	18/12	B	0	0	?	?	Discotec
	2002	20/12	Ar	0	0	?	?	Discotec
	2003	08/03	B	0	0	?	?	Mosque
Somalia	1998	15/04	K	?	?	?	?	Aid
	1999	19/09	B	0	0	ULA	Isl	Oil pipeline
	2001	16/11	AA	9	18	?	?	Quran School
	2003	28/07	B	0	0	?	?	Hotel
	2004	20/06	K	?	?	?	?	NGO
	2004	04/10	As	0	1	?	?	Aid worker
	2005	09/02	As	0	1	AI	Isl	Journ.
	2005	17/02	B	6	2	?	?	Hotel
	2005	03/05	B	38	15	?	?	Gov.
	2005	11/07	AA	?	1	?	?	NGO
Sudan	2005	06/11	AA	?	5	?	?	Gov. target
	1998	02/07	B	?	?	?	?	Airport
	1998	02/07	B	?	?	?	?	Power plant
	1999	18/02	K	0	4	SPLA	Pol	NGO
	2001	23/01	B	0	0	SPLA	Pol	Oil pipeline
	2001	05/08	?	?	?	SPLA	Pol	Oil pipeline
	2002	26/04	AA	0	60	LRA	Chr	Funeral Party
	2002	15/10	H	?	?	?	?	Saudi aircraft
	2005	05/7	AA	0	5	LRA	Chr	Vehicle
Tanzania (Zanzibar)	2005	05/7	AA	11	6	LRA	Chr	NGO
	2005	05/11	AA	1	1	LRA	Chr	Air worker
	1998	07/08	B/S	77	10	AQ	Isl	US Emb.
	1999	23/12	B	0	0	?	?	Beer depot
Tanzania (Zanzibar)	2004	20/03	B	0	0	?	?	Restaurant
	2004	20/03	B	0	0	?	?	Gov.
	2000	12/11	B	1	0	?	?	Gov.

Uganda	1998	04/04	B	2	0	?	?	Hotel
	1998	04/04	B	5	2	?	?	Hotel
	1998	12/07	B	3	1	?	?	Restaurant
	1998	18/07	B	?	?	?	?	Civilians
	1998	25/08	B	6	30	NALU	Pol	Bus
	1998	27/11	AA	17	16	LRA	Chr	Aid
	1999	01/03	B	4	0	?	?	Restaurant
	1999	01/03	K	0	8	IH	Pol	Tourists
	1999	10/04	B	4	0	?	?	Taxi park
	1999	11/04	B	13	2	?	?	Taxi park
	1999	14/04	B	35	4	?	?	Restaurant
	1999	24/04	B	16	5	?	?	Stadium
	1999	06/05	B	1	0	?	?	Civilians
	1999	07/05	B	10	1	?	?	Civilians
	1999	30/05	B	12	2	AMM	Isl	Restaurant
	2000	04/05	K	0	0	LRA	Chr	Rel.
	2000	01/10	As	?	1	LRA	Chr	Rel.
	2000	09/10	B	60	9	LRA	Chr	Disco
	2001	14/03	B	3	2	?	?	Civilians
	2001	16/03	B	4	1	?	?	Civilians
	2001	07/07	B	13	1	?	?	Civilians
	2002	24/07	K	?	?	LRA	Chr	Gov.
	2003	01/09	Am	?	22	LRA	Chr	Vehicle
	2003	13/10	AA	20	22	LRA	Chr	Restaurant
	2003	18/11	AA	?	12	LRA	Chr	Civilians
	2004	01/02	AA	?	8	LRA	Chr	Civilians
	2004	21/02	B	60	239	LRA	Chr	Refugees
	2004	05/02	AA	50	47	LRA	Chr	Refugees
	2004	14/04	AA	8	13	LRA	Chr	Vehicle
	2004	18/04	K	0	0	LRA	Chr	Rel.
	2004	17/05	AA	10	7	LRA	Chr	Vehicles
	2004	20/12	AA	1	2	LRA	Chr	Vehicle
	2005	19/01	As	0	1	LRA	Chr	MP
	2005	23/02	AA	7	1	LRA	Chr	Civilians
	2005	26/02	Ae	8	1	LRA	Chr	Civilians
	2005	09/03	AA	16	6	LRA	Chr	Civilians
	2005	15/03	AA	7	2	LRA	Chr	Civilians
	2005	26/03	K	13	?	LRA	Chr	Civilians
	2005	05/05	AA	?	4	LRA	Chr	Vehicle
	2005	05/05	AA	14	10	LRA	Chr	IDPs
	2005	10/07	AA	?	14	LRA	Chr	Civilians
	2005	18/11	AA	?	5	LRA	Chr	Vehicle
	2005	21/11	AA	5	12	LRA	Chr	Vehicle
	2005	13/12	AA	?	8	LRA	Chr	Vehicle
Legend: AA: Armed Attack; AI: Al-Islah; Am: Ambush; AMM: Ahmadiya Muslim Mission; AQ: Al Qaeda; Ar: Arson; As: Assass; B: Bomb; C: Christian; EIJM: Eritrean Islamic Jihad Movement; H: Hijacking; I: Islamist; IH: Interahamwe; K: Kidnapping; LM: Land Mine; LRA: Lord's Resistance Army; M: Mortar; NALU: National Army for the Liberation of Uganda; OLF: Oromo Liberation Front; ONLF: Ogaden National Liberation Front; P: Political; R: Rocket; S: Suicide attack; SPLA: Sudan People's Liberation Army; Tanz(Z): Tanzania (Zanzibar); ULA: Ummah Liberation Army								

Table 2: Terrorism in East Africa			
Year	Inc.	Inj.	Fat.
1998	11	5,110	350
1999	14	96	28
2000	6	62	30
2001	6	29	22
2002	9	118	74
2003	10	43	61
2004	18	200	324
2005	20	126	100
Av. 1998-2005	11.8	723.0	123.7
Av. 1999-2005	11.9	96.3	91.3
Legend: Inc: Incidents; Inj: Injuries; Fat: Fatalities; Av: Annual Average			

Table 3: Terrorism by Motivation			
Motive	Inc.	Inj.	Fat.
Unknown	43	284	76
Political	11	10	57
Christian	32	308	534
Islam	8	105	21
Emb. attacks	2	5,077	301

Table 4: Terrorism by Country			
Country	Inc.	Inj.	Fat.
Dibouti	1	6	0
Eritrea	3	63	8
Ethiopia	15	191	43
Kenya (A)	6	5,080	304
Kenya (B)	5	80	13
Somalia	11	53	43
Sudan Tanzania	10	12	76
(A) Tanzania	5	78	10
(B) Tanzania	4	1	0
(C) Tanzania	0	0	0
(D) Uganda	4	1	0
	44	427	521
Legend: Inc: Incidents; Inj: Injuries; Fat: Fatalities; (Kenya and Tanzania) A: Total; B): without embassy bombings; (Tanzania) C: Mainland; D: only Zanzibar			

It thus seems that the threat from (what the West calls) terrorism, and even more so that of Islamic terrorism, is blown completely out of proportion as far as East Africa and the HoA is concerned. This may not only be the West's fault, as it may also be in the interest of governments in the region to exaggerate the threat. First of all, positioning themselves as the allies of the United States in its global "war on terror" is likely to gain them some much needed goodwill. Secondly, it also makes them eligible for support from the EACTI pool, e.g. for military or police upgrading programs. Thirdly, and more problematically, it may allow governments to label their opponents terrorists, thereby allowing them to resort to "extraordinary measures" to defeat them.

Even though HoA is not yet a terrorist hotspot—and especially not one of Islamist terrorism—one cannot rule out that it may become one in the future. In this connection, concerns have been raised about the alleged spread of particular forms of Islam in the subregion.⁵⁶ Others have, however, pointed out that the predominant forms of Islam throughout the region (mainly various forms of Sufism) have been quite moderate and apolitical.⁵⁷ Even though there have surely been attempts at Islamization and at garnering popular support for "jihadism," e.g. using various Islamic charities and NGOs as instruments, these have generally been unsuccessful.⁵⁸ The only country where Islamism ever really established itself was Sudan and even here, the tide seems to have turned, e.g. with the split between the government and the Muslim Brotherhood of Al Turabi.⁵⁹ Whether something similar might have happened, or been about the

happen, in Somalia is the question to which we shall now turn in a rather elaborate case study of this troubled country.

4. Case Study: Somalia: A breeding Ground for Terrorists?

Since 9/11 Somalia has attracted growing attention as allegedly one of the most likely breeding grounds for terrorism. The actions taken by the United States and its allies (mainly Ethiopia) in the years 2006-07 seem to have pushed this troubled country over the edge, plunging it back into chaos. As a background to the account and analysis of these recent events, a brief account of the historical background is provided, highlighting some of the recurrent themes which also play a role today—nationalism and irredentism, clanism, various “state pathologies,” the economy and religion.

4.1 Somali Nationalism

The fact that the Somali are ethnically homogenous may help explain their strong sense of nationhood, notwithstanding the fact that there has never been a state to serve as a superstructure on the national community. In fact the closest the Somali ever came to being united in one state-like political structure was during the aforementioned short-lived Italian empire in East Africa. It should therefore come as no surprise that the lack of correspondence between the “imagined community” of the Somali nation and the political realities have taken the form of a nationalism which has featured elements of both secessionism and irredentism—the former because members of the Somali nation were “trapped” in multinational states such as Ethiopia or Kenya, and the latter because the nation was not united in one state.

Partly because of the country’s location it was bound to draw the attention of both the Arabs⁶⁰ and later the Europeans, but also that of the rulers of the most state-like polity in Africa, the cohesive and expansive Ethiopia. Hence the division between the Ethiopia and the three European powers France, Italy and Great Britain. The latter controlled both the northern parts, governed as a separate entity, and the southern-most parts, administered as part of Kenya, whereas France controlled the present Djibouti, the Italians the eastern parts and Ethiopia the north-western parts of the lands populated by Somali nationals.



Considering the strong sense of nationhood among the Somali, it was almost inevitable that independent Somalia was born with an irredentist agenda. Indeed, the irredentist aspirations were clearly depicted in the flag of the new republic, in which the five points of the star represent the components of the ideal Somalia,

comprising the present Djibouti, the Republic of Somalia (de facto bifurcated at present into Somalia and Somaliland), the Northeastern part of Kenya and what used to be called the Ogaden province of Ethiopia, now called the Somali Regional State.⁶¹ Unsurprisingly, this nationalist project led to wars, first the low-key “Shifta war” with Kenya (1963-1968)⁶² and then the “Ogaden War” with Ethiopia (1977-78)—in both cases commencing with Somali support for indigenous, secessionist rebel movements.⁶³ The latter war might be seen as a consequence of the pursuit by both sides of “antithetical security goals” stemming from particular conceptions of statehood, as argued by Terrence Lyons:

Ethiopia’s security has been predicated on maintaining territorial integrity and building cohesion for its multinational population. This required maintaining control of the Ogaden. Somalia’s security goals have aimed at creating a nation-state that incorporated the Somalis living in the Ogaden. Actions by either of these states in pursuit of their conception of security therefore increased the perceived insecurity of the other.⁶⁴

Somali irredentism also goes a long way towards explaining the somewhat ambivalent attitude of both Kenya and Ethiopia towards Somalia even today—as well as Somali sensitivity towards any Ethiopian interference in its domestic affairs. Seen from Nairobi or, even more so, Addis Ababa, the ideal Somalia is one that is just strong and cohesive enough to be able to feed and care for its citizens, lest they end up as refugees across the border, but not strong enough to act on its latent irredentist national agenda—or, even better, one that is governed by a regime which is totally dependent for its remaining in power on the support from Ethiopia, as is the case of the present Transitional Federal Government (TFG), to which we shall return in due course. During the first phase of the Somali civil war, Ethiopia thus interfered by supporting various armed factions such as the DFSS (Democratic Front for the Salvation of Somalia) and the SNM (Somali National Movement),⁶⁵ just as the government in Addis Ababa has done in the recent crisis.

Viewed from Somalia, any interference from Ethiopia is quite understandably interpreted as attempts to curb the legitimate aspirations of the Somali nation, both in Somalia itself and in the Somali-majority parts of Ethiopia, with the inhabitants of which the Somalis feel a deep sense of community. Even though it probably helps that the post-Mengistu Ethiopian constitution with its “ethnic federalism” grants greater autonomy to the Somali inhabitants than any previous regime, it is not without problems, *inter alia* because it formally allows the constituent parts to secede from the federation.⁶⁶ This is likely to make the government in Addis Ababa even more concerned about any secessionist aspirations and any Somali support for such movements, such as the WSLF (Western Somali Liberation Front) and its successors in the Ogaden region of

Ethiopia. Even in the recent past, there has indeed been such support—viewed by Ethiopia as Somali interference in its internal affairs—including some terrorist attacks in Ethiopia itself in the 1990s perpetrated by the group Al-Ittihad al-Islamiya (AIAI), to which we shall return below. At the time it provoked an Ethiopian military intervention which, in turn, merely exacerbated anti-Ethiopian sentiments in Somalia.⁶⁷

Had the Somali flag been designed today, it might have featured a sixth point, symbolizing yet another part of the Somali nation, i.e. the diaspora, which is scattered across the world.⁶⁸ Various conflict theories, including the fashionable and influential one of Paul Collier, have found that the presence of diasporas in rich countries tends to intensify and prolong armed conflicts in the respective countries origin of these diasporas.⁶⁹ The links are probably not nearly as clear as claimed by Collier, as others have pointed to the occasional peace-promoting potential of diasporas, but it is probably fair to say that large diasporas add an element of unpredictability to armed conflicts, as they represent actors who are both involved in the conflict and detached from its consequences.⁷⁰

The War on Terror has further complicated matters. Regardless of whether Collier's thesis is true or not, or whether his findings can simply be translated into the thesis that diasporas tend to support terrorism, the United States seems to believe in both hypotheses. Washington thus harbors strong suspicions that at least some members of such diasporas contribute to financing terrorism, either by sending remittances to relatives in Somalia who may, in turn, support terrorism or by directly siphoning off funds to Al Qaeda and other terrorist groups from the remittance flow. The USA therefore in November 2001 cracked down on the Al Barakaat bank, which was the main source of remittances sent to the Somali civilians, transferring far greater funds than total international humanitarian aid, via a hawala system.⁷¹ Needless to say, this move did not really improve the already strained relationship between the United States and the suffering civilian population of Somalia in desperate need of these funds. Fortunately, the informal banking sector in Somalia proved resilient and diversified enough to find other avenues for remittance transfers, thereby averting the humanitarian disaster that would otherwise have been inevitable.⁷²

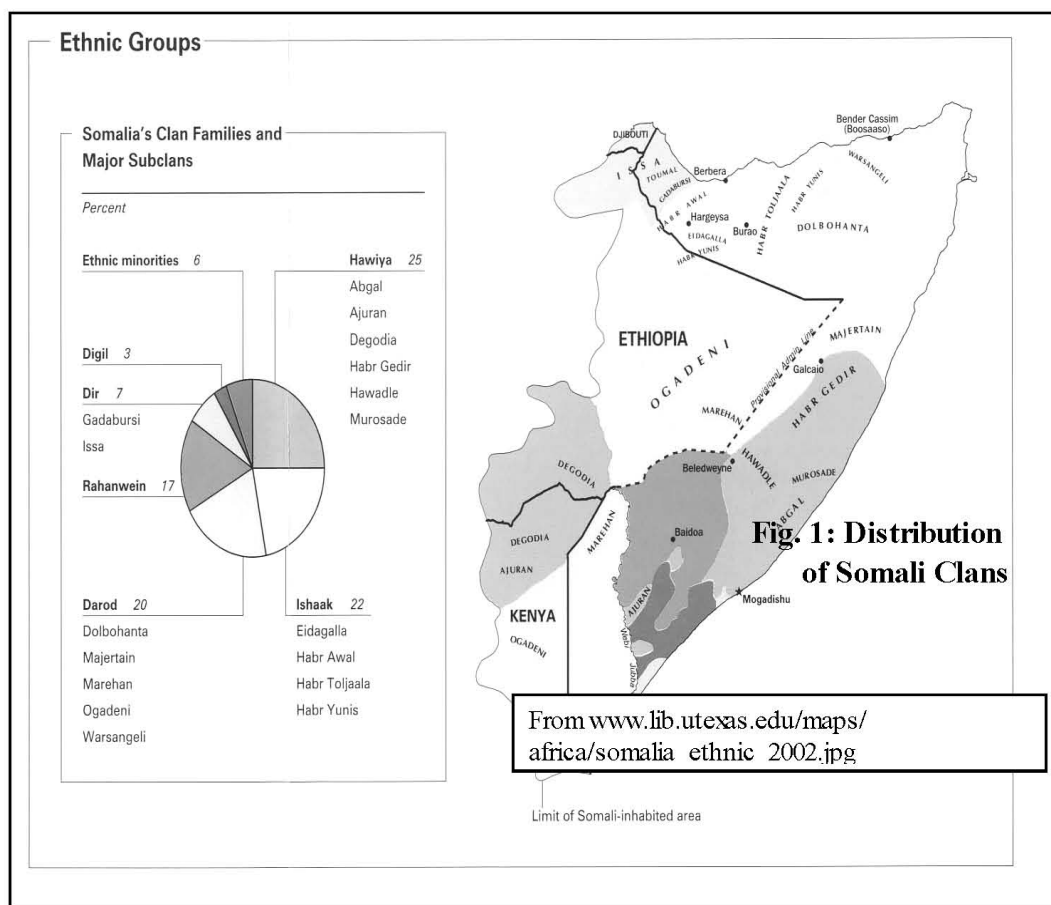
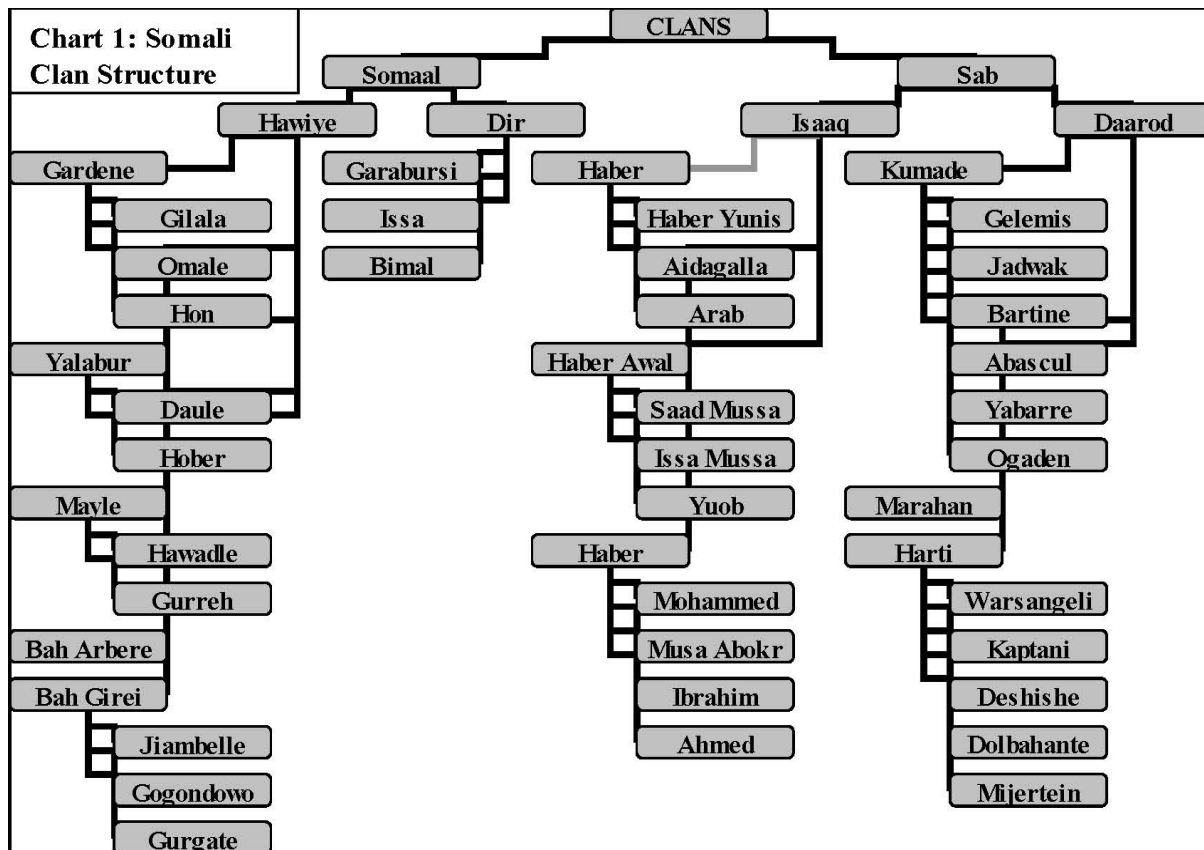
4.2 Identities and Clans

Even though the Somali are arguably one of Africa's oldest and most homogenous nations, both ethnically and in terms of religion and customs (and with a unifying myth of origin based on Islam) the nation has long been divided according to other criteria, mainly those of kinship in the form of clans, previously often referred to as tribes. The clans have their origins in lineage, the Somali tracing their decent through their male lineages many generations back,

thus defining their identity and loyalties according to a genealogy which may be partly mythical, as with the myth of descent from Arabian families, perhaps even from the prophet himself.⁷³

The subdivision of the nation into clans forms a complex picture of “major clans” (sometimes referred to as “clan families”), (minor) clans and sub-clans as depicted in Chart 1.⁷⁴ Clan families tend to congregate in different parts of the country: Dir in enclaves along the coast in the south as well as in the border region between the present Somaliland and Djibouti; Isaaq in the Somaliland and parts of the Ogaden region of Ethiopia; Darood in the north as well as in the frontier region with Kenya; Hawyie in the middle parts, including the area around Mogadishu; and Rewin south of Mogadishu as well as parts of Ogaden (see Fig. 1).⁷⁵ Even though they thus tend to congregate territorially, each clan is scattered, not only across the country but also among adjacent states, to which should be added the aforementioned diaspora.

The clan structure further has some correlation with territory, in the sense that nomadic herding units, enjoying usufructural rights to particular pastures and wells, usually consist of agnatic groups belonging to the same clan.⁷⁶ The fact that pasture and water are scarce throughout Somalia, and therefore often fought over, has made these lineage-based groups essential units for self-help and thus for survival in an inhospitable environment. Unsurprisingly, they have often resorted to violence in their struggle against each other.⁷⁷ There is thus nothing “primitive” or irrational about them, and that these clan loyalties have also been manifested in armed clan militias and inter-clan strife is thus entirely understandable, however deplorable.



According to Issa-Salwe, “[T]he Somali inter-clan conflict is centered on feuds as it aims to injure or eliminate the hostile clan, to seek revenge, to reverse wrongs, and to protect its rights over resources.”⁷⁸ One might even speak of a “security dilemma of clan rivalry” as argued by David Laitin:

First, for all nomadic groups in a battle against unforgiving nature, every grazing area, every watering hole, is vital for survival. Increased measures by any clan to enhance security must therefore be seen by leaders of other clans as threatening their physical survival. The security dilemma can thus be seen as a permanent condition of life in the Somali bush. Second, as Siyaad seeded clan warfare through strategic distribution of weapons he received as foreign aid, he surely threatened the survival of enemy clans, who themselves were impelled to seek comparable arms to secure their future. Third, after the collapse of the Siyaad regime in 1991, all clans feared for their futures if an enemy clan captured the reins of power. Surely they armed themselves in part because of the disastrous potential consequences for their security of not arming.⁷⁹

Attempts at separating the state from the clan structure have been made in the past, e.g. under the Barre regime, which passed legislation forbidding the use of clan names for political parties—but all alleged no-clan (or anti-clan) initiatives have, on closer analyses, revealed themselves as tactical or strategic moves in the inter-clan struggle.⁸⁰

4.3 State Weakness, Collapse and Attempted Reconstruction

Not only was the Somali state born irredentist, it was also born weak. Upon independence-cum-unification in 1961, the formal political dispensation was democratic, but actual power was primarily distributed on the basis of kinship.⁸¹

4.3.1 The Siyad Barre Era

The second and last round of democratic elections took place in 1969 in which no less than 64 parties competed, yet without being able to topple the incumbent Somali Youth League,⁸² and on the 15th of October the same year, the President Shermanke was assassinated and the military took over. This brought to power a military junta led by General Siyad Barre, who almost immediately suspended the constitution, closed parliament and banned all political parties, placing a Supreme Revolutionary Council in charge of the state. which was in 1976 superseded by a one-party system based on the Somali Socialist Revolutionary Party (SSRP).⁸³

What is today commonly referred to as “the Siyad Barre era” (with distinctly pejorative connotations) might in fact be broken down into at least two main periods: The period from the coup in 1969 until the Ogaden War in 1977/78 was characterized by socio-cultural experiments, albeit guided by a (mainly Chinese-

inspired) “scientific socialism.”⁸⁴ The Ogaden War seriously weakened the regime. Even though an attempted military coup in 1978 was quelled, the domestic strength of the regime steadily weakened and the opposition gained strength, also spurred by the unpopular introduction of conscription in 1984.⁸⁵ After the war the regime went through a transformation, which Hussein Adam has aptly described as autocracy (1978⁸⁶) and tyranny (1987-1991).⁸⁶ Not only did the regime become more despotic, but it also became increasingly infected by clanism, notwithstanding its initial attempts at banning clanism and tribalism—to the point of making clanism a capital offence.⁸⁷ Now the positions of real power were primarily filled with members of the Marrehaan, Ogaadeen and Dulbahante clans (hence the derogatory term “MOD rule”) combined with systematic attempts at eliminating the elites of other clans.⁸⁸ The opposition, in its turn, also increasingly came to rely on clans—a trend which was reinforced by the mounting economic crisis, which was partly caused, and certainly exacerbated, by the high military expenditures after the Ogaden War. It weakened state structures and made people turn to their clan networks for support and security.

The Ogaden War and its aftermath thus partly explains the rise of nationalist and gradually secessionist movements in what is today (Isaaq-dominated) Somaliland, led by the Somali National Movement (SNM), which was founded in 1981 and supported by Ethiopia. A similar development occurred, at about the same time, in the Mijerteen-dominated north-east, where the Somali Salvation Democratic Front (SSDF) launched a struggle against the central government, thus laying the groundworks for what is today the semi-autonomous status of Puntland.⁸⁹ Other national movements were created amongst the Somali diaspora, both in the Arab countries and in Western Europe, all of them roughly following clan boundaries. The USC (United Somali Congress) was thus based in Rome and mainly “represented” the Hawiye clan, including the subsequently (perhaps unfairly) notorious Mohammed Aideed. The Manifesto Initiative, in its turn, was somewhat broader, but also represented mainly the Hawiye and Darood clans, whereas the SPM (Somali Patriotic Movements) stemmed primarily from the Ogaden. Most of the several oppositional factions were thus based on clans, a simplified picture of which is presented in Table 5. A number of (mostly short-lived) alliances were forged between the various factions, e.g. between the USC, SDM, SSNM and SPM, and in 1990 agreement was reached on joint operations against Barre.⁹⁰

Table 5: Somali Factions (1991/92)				
Acron.	Name	Membership	Basis	Leaders
SNM	Somali National Movement	<i>Isaaq</i>	Somaliland	Abdulrahman Ahmed Ali ("Tuur")
SSDF	Somali Salvation Democratic Front	<i>Mijerteen</i>	Puntland	Abdullah Yusuf Ahmed
USC	United Somali Congress	<i>Hawiye</i>	Southern Somalia	Mohammad Farah Aideed
SDM	Somali Democratic Movement	<i>Rahanwiin</i>		Abdi Muse Mayo/Mohamed Nur Aliyou
SSNM	Southern Somali National Movement	<i>Dir</i>		Abdi Warsame Isaaq
SPM	Somali Patriotic Movement	<i>Ogadeen</i>		Mohamed Saeed Hirsi ("Morgan")
MG	Manifesto Group	<i>Hawiye/Darood</i>		Ali Mahdi
SAMO	Somali African Muki Organisation	Non-clan		Mohamed Ramadan Arbow
SNU	Somali National Union	Non-clan		Mohamed Ragis Mohamed

After a protracted period of growing weakness and mounting turmoil, the opposition movements finally succeeded in deposing Siyad Barre in 1991. Following the fall of Siyad Barre, the Manifesto Group set up an interim government with Ali Mahdi Mohamed as interim president, but this was almost immediately followed by a split between (and within) the various rebel groups. The main protagonists were General Aideed and his Habr Abgal clan and the self-appointed president and his Abgal clan. The two groups effectively established control over the southern and northern parts of the city, respectively, divided by a so-called "green line".

4.3.2 Civil War, State Collapse and UN Intervention

What followed was an extraordinarily messy civil war, featuring extensive inter-clan fighting and sheer banditry, combined with widespread looting, also of the food and other aid provided by the relief agencies.⁹¹ By March 1992 Mogadishu had thus been nearly deserted, at least 300,000 people had died of hunger and related diseases, and the direct death toll from the fighting was around 44,000. The severe famine suffered by the civilian population (also partly caused by a drought) was finally "discovered" by the international media.⁹² This belated media coverage brought the suffering of the civilian population to the attention of the proverbial "international community" with an implicit imperative to act—albeit initially mainly in terms of food aid. Not only did most of this only arrive after the famine had run its course, but it may arguably even have exacerbated the problems by contributing to the emergent "war economy", upon which the militias thrived.⁹³

The international community, i.e. the UN with the United States as lead nation both politically and militarily, also staged a military intervention, officially mandated as a peacekeeping operation, even though there was no peace to keep. More appropriately it has been referred to as a humanitarian intervention, i.e. an attempt at "saving strangers."⁹⁴ As there seems to have been no other strategic or economic interests in Somalia—not even the geopolitical imperatives of the Cold Wars which had just come to an end—it seems reasonable to accept the humanitarian motive as the primary one in addition to which the United States

surely also had to accept the “noblesse oblige logic.” For the only remaining superpower laying claim to hegemonic position in a “new world order” characterized by human rights concerns and the promotion of democracy and other western values, there are situations where action is obviously needed and where the hegemon is obliged to take the lead.⁹⁵

Even though the two multilateral UN missions (UNOSOM-1 and -2) as well as the unilateral US missions UNITAF were primarily motivated by humanitarian concerns, their actual accomplishments fell far short of mitigating human suffering. In fact, according to most analyses they probably did more harm than good⁹⁶ partly because of the US penchant for Manichaeian thinking,⁹⁷ categorizing groups and individuals as good or evil rather than recognizing the predominance of different shades of gray. In the role as villain the United States cast one of the rivaling warlords, Mohammed Aideed, partly because of his refusal to sign an agreement coming out of talks in Addis Ababa in January and March 1993.⁹⁸ His reputation as (what would today be called) a “spoiler,”⁹⁹ and the “enemy number one” of the United States was reinforced when his forces in June 1993 ambushed a number of UN peacekeepers which started almost a chain reaction. The United States persuaded the UN to destroy Aideed’s radio stations, an attempt which on the 5th of June 1993 led to a serious firefight between Pakistani UNOSOM troops and Somali militiamen who, according to a subsequent UN investigation, belonged to Aideed’s faction. In revenge of the loss of 24 UN troops in this skirmish,¹⁰⁰ the Security Council passed a resolution (UNSCR 837) authorizing the use of force to apprehend the culprits, albeit not explicitly naming Aideed or even his USC.¹⁰¹ This United States placed a prize of US\$25,000 on Aideed’s head, thus “acting in an idiom more suited to the Wild West than the complex task of peace and security building in Somalia” (as aptly put by Nicholas Wheeler)¹⁰² and effectively transformed at least the US parts of what should have been an impartial peacekeeping operation into a combat mission against an identified target.¹⁰³ According to two senior US officials in situ (writing two years later), the designation of Aideed as an enemy was “devastating, for Somalis and the peacekeepers, for U.S. foreign policy, and for peacekeeping itself”.¹⁰⁴

The United States deployed its Quick Reaction Force (QRF) in pursuit of the evasive Aideed, but in the process of doing so caused substantial “collateral” damage—as did other contributors to UNOSOM-II. On one occasion, Pakistani UNOSOM troops fired into a crowd, killing twenty civilians; on another rocket fire was opened at a hospital, killing nine patients; and on the 12th of July, the QRF launched an air and missile attack (code-named “Operation Michigan”) against a meeting of clan elders from the Habr-Gedir clan, employing no less than sixteen TOW missiles and more than 2,000 rounds of cannon fire, and killing at least 54 of the elders—but not Aideed.¹⁰⁵ Subsequently, the US

(against the advice of then Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Colin Powell)¹⁰⁶ deployed 400 Rangers and some Delta Force commandos to conduct raids against Aideed's forces, killing "hundreds of Somalis" in the estimate of Trevor Findlay, as the raids took place in densely populated areas.¹⁰⁷ On the 3rd of October, US Rangers found themselves in a fire-fight with Somalis (who may or may not have belonged to Aideed's forces) and eighteen were killed along with between 300 and a thousand Somali casualties (who were almost immediately forgotten) in the incident behind the book and movie *Black Hawk Down*.¹⁰⁸

The fact that the bodies of the dead soldiers were not treated with dignity, but that one corpse was stripped naked and dragged through the streets constituted a serious humiliation of the United States. Washington promptly reacted with a proclamation (7 October) by President Clinton that the US would begin a withdrawal of its forces and be out by 31 March 1994, come what may. Henceforth the US troops were almost entirely preoccupied with self-defense, and the hunt for Aideed was abandoned.¹⁰⁹ By March 1994, all US and most European forces had been withdrawn,¹¹⁰ and the UN Security Council in UNSCR 897 (4 February 1994) announced an unconditional complete withdrawal by March 1995, the last remaining forces being "extracted" with some US and European assistance from 28th of February to the 3rd of March 1995.¹¹¹

Not only did this chain of events exhibit an uncanny resemblance to the events in 2006, when the United States had merely substituted the hunt for terrorists (vide infra) for the hunt for Aideed. There is also a direct link between the two, at least as far as myth-building is concerned. Paradoxically, both the United States and Osama bin Laden have alleged that the latter's Al Qaeda was behind the "Black Hawk down" incident, whereas most analysts dismiss this as highly unlikely and unsubstantiated by any evidence.¹¹² Even the official 9/11 Commission Report is rather equivocal on the issue, claiming merely that AQ sent weapons to unspecified Somali warlords as well as "scores of trainers" some of whom "were later heard boasting that their assistance led to the October 2003 shoot down." A recent report published by the Westpoint military academy on the basis of declassified papers, likewise dismisses the claim, pointing to the serious difficulties Al Qaeda operatives dispatched to the country had in their relations with the Somali.¹¹³

4.3.3. Statelessness and attempted State-building

Ever since the collapse of the Somali state, more than a dozen different attempts have been made at state reconstruction¹¹⁴ of which the two most recent have

produced the TNG (Transitional National Government) of the year 2000 and its successor, the TFG (Transitional Federal Government) of 2004.

The TNG came out of a conference was held in Arta in Djibouti, where 2,000 delegates elected a 245-man Transitional National Assembly (TNA), on a clan basis. This in turn elected a transitional President, Abdiqassim Salad Hassan, who appointed an interim Prime Minister, Ali Khalif Galaydh. This Transitional National Government (TNG) established in August 2000, remained in power until it was toppled by a vote of no-confidence in October 2001. However, its actual control extended to only half of the capital and small enclaves in the interior, and it was never able to ensure the personal security of its members, as several members of the TNG were assassinated. By 2003 the TNG had collapsed in all but name, even though it had called upon former SNA (Somali National Army) troops for protection.¹¹⁵ Despite its weakness, however, as representative of this “virtual state” the TNG’s President Abdiqasim attended UN Millennium Summit, thus achieving some de facto recognition by the UN of his “one-man government still in exile”, which was formalized on the 1st of November 2001. From the UN, he proceeded to summits in the Arab League, OIC and IGAD, likewise achieving de facto recognition, and the TNG was recognized de jure by the OAU in December 2000.¹¹⁶

The TNG seems also to have tried to exploit the US-proclaimed “war against terrorism”.¹¹⁷ As early as September 2001 it thus established a “national anti-terrorism task force,” undoubtedly in the hope that this would gain it some American sympathy and eventually perhaps even recognition. Despite its exploitation of the AIAI threat, some observers have alleged that the AIAI had strong links to the TNG, with about a dozen MPs in the transitional parliament affiliated with it;¹¹⁸ while others have pointed to the TMG’s obvious inability to play any active role in counter-terrorism: “Since the TNG has yet to police its own capital city, the notion that it will combat terrorist cells in the country as a whole is not to be taken seriously”, as succinctly put by Ken Menkhaus.¹¹⁹

In parallel with the demise of the TNG ran the so-called “Eldoret process”, commencing with a gathering of Somali political leaders in October 2002 in Kenyan town Eldoret, under the auspices of IGAD. On the 7th of October the Eldoret Declaration on “Cessation of Hostilities and the Structure and Principles of the Somali National Reconciliation Process” was adopted. Subsequently, the signatories reconstituted themselves as a “Leaders’ Committee”. In 2003, the process was continued, now under the leadership of the new IGAD envoy, Kenyan Ambassador Bethuel Kiplagat, and relocated to Mbagathi outside Nairobi.¹²⁰ By then, however, what had begun as a promising process had, according to the International Crisis Group, evolved toward “an unimaginative ‘cake-cutting’ exercise in power-sharing by an un-elected and only partially

representative political elite that threatens to repeat the history of earlier failed initiatives”.¹²¹ Regional rivalry between, on the one side, Ethiopia, sponsoring the Somali Reconciliation and Reconstruction Council (SRRC) and, on the other side, Djibouti and Arab countries, supporting the TNG, did not help at all.

Nevertheless, in September 2003 agreement was reached on a draft transitional charter envisaging a federalist political dispensation, and dominated by the SRRC and Ethiopia’s closest ally in Somalia (in fact in semi-autonomous Puntland) Abdullah Yusuf. While a number of other clans were co-opted into the agreement, others were excluded. This was followed in the autumn of 2004 by the establishment (on the basis of clan-quotas) of a transitional federal parliament (TFP) which on the 10th of October elected Yusuf interim president of the TFG. Three weeks after his inauguration, he appointed Ali Mohamed Geedi for Prime Minister, who in turn was charged with appointing a cabinet. Its very size—comprising three deputy PMs, 33 minister, 34 deputy ministers and 8 state ministers—is evidence of its being based on co-optation of potential rivals. That this did not ensure its representatively was demonstrated when the TFP with 153 out of 275 votes passed a motion of no-confidence, which only made the president dissolve the TFP whilst retaining Geedi as the PM.¹²²

The main problem with the TFI (transitional federal institutions) has, however, been that they have exerted absolutely no actual control over the country which they are ostensibly governing. Even though leading members of most of the armed factions were represented in the cabinet, the TFG did not find the situation in Somalia safe enough for it to relocate from Kenya without foreign protection. Having appealed in vain to both the UN and the AU for a protection force of 20,000 troops, the TFG eventually settled for Ethiopian armed protection allowing it to move its headquarters to Somalia, albeit not to the capital, Mogadishu, but to Baidoa in January 2006—but still denying the presence of any Ethiopian troops.¹²³

This growing reliance on the arch-enemy was probably the main reason for the internal disagreements within the TFI, several members of the cabinet resigning in March 2005, mainly the so-called “Mogadishu group,” most belonging to the Hawiye clan. The TFG made some attempts at creating an army, partly in contravention of the UN-imposed arms embargo which remains in force,¹²⁴ but merely implemented a certain redeployment of militias from Puntland to the central parts. In late December 2006 and early January 2007, however, the TFG was finally installed in Mogadishu, yet only as a result of what was in reality (albeit not formally) an Ethiopian invasion. We shall return to these dramatic events in due course.

Whereas state reconstruction has thus failed in the southern parts of Somalia, it has fared somewhat better in Puntland and to some extent even in the inter-riverine region, where a governing authority has emerged in the form of a “Digil-Mirifle clan authority”, created through consecutive conferences (in 1993 and 1995 in Bonka and Rewin, respectively). It is based on a bicameral system, featuring a House of Representatives and a House of Elders, and has promulgated recommendations for a future status as a regional state within a looser Somali federation. This is also the status demanded by the regional authorities in Puntland, where in 1997 a National Salvation Council established itself as a *de facto* state authority, based on a “constitution” adopted by a constitutional conference in 1998. The Puntland regional state comprises the Bari, Nugal and North Mudug provinces and is fairly homogenous demographically, most of the population belonging to the Majerteen clan (part of the Darood clan family). The state was officially proclaimed in July 1998, when a constitution was adopted and a president and prime minister appointed. Notwithstanding a dispute with Somaliland over the districts Sanaag and Sool, Puntland remained fairly stable compared with the south.¹²⁵

4.4 Coping without a State

Societies are remarkably resilient in the face of hardships and one such as Somalia perhaps more than most. In the absence of a functioning political system to manage societal relations, other societal institutions are likely to take charge, simply because life must go on and people are forced to cope as best they can, even under the most dreadful conditions.

As far as law and order are concerned, various non-state mechanisms have taken the place of the state, including the *diya* system, offering a modicum of order via mutual deterrence among clans, and bringing into play traditional institutions such as the clan elders.¹²⁶ Moreover, Islamic (“shari’a”) courts have largely taken over from the defunct formal judiciary (*vide infra*) and Islamic charities are filling in for the non-existent social welfare system (*vide supra*). Most such arrangement have merely a local scope and they are often clan-based, thereby excluding people living beyond the core area of their respective clan as well as the small minorities who do not belong to clans.¹²⁷ Nevertheless, it is certainly better than nothing, and westerners (including the present author) should beware of their/our ethnocentric biases, blinding them/us to forms of order radically different from the state-based ones to which we are accustomed as argued in a controversial work by Patrick Chabal and Jean-Pascal Daloz.¹²⁸

As far as the economy is concerned, in the absence of a state, other societal institutions will usually take charge of “the authoritative allocation of values for a society,”¹²⁹ i.e. of determining “who gets what, when and how.” Indeed,

Somalia's stateless economy might be seen as simply following the prescriptions of economic liberalism—including the controversial “Washington Consensus”—only to greater extremes than almost any other country and with Adam Smith's proverbial “invisible hand” in a leading role.¹³⁰ What makes this problematic is, of course, that Somalia was born with a legacy of poverty and a with very backward economy, depending mainly on farming in the north-west and south and pastoralism in the central and northern regions, with fishing, leather works and trading also accounting for large shares of GDP as well as of employment.¹³¹ Moreover, the country is extremely vulnerable to climatic fluctuations as well as to such “coincidents” as outbreaks of rinderpest or rift valley fever, either in Somalia itself or in neighboring countries. This has typically lead to the imposition by Saudi Arabia and other major trading partners of occasional bans on livestock imports from Somalia (e.g. in 1983 and 2000), which have severely disrupted the entire economy.¹³²

Successive governments have done little to improve the situation, but have tended to exacerbate rather than solve the problems. Surely, the civil war had extremely destructive effects on the economy, as commerce was superseded by looting—and where even the mere presence of the peacekeepers contributed to distorting the economy.¹³³ However, when the fighting had peaked the economy has actually benefitted from state collapse, i.e. that “as far as economic welfare is concerned, absence of government has proven to be better than the repressive institutions and improper policies of Barre's government”, as claimed by Jamil Mubarak.¹³⁴ It allowed for a revival of the private sector, especially the (today almost all-encompassing) informal economy, which developed under Siyad, but which has also provided a fall-back system after state collapse. Not only has the (at least parts of) the economy managed to “muddle through”, with most economic transactions now being based on clientilistic networks, i.e. on the basis of social rather than legal contracts. There have also been localized and rather chaotic economic booms, e.g. in cross-border trade in livestock. Foreign trade has thus continued, as has private investment, even though it has become more opportunistic, small-scale and short-term than before. The markets function, with an order of sorts being maintained by a combination of clan elders, clergy and militias. Perhaps even more surprisingly, the faith in the Somali Shilling persisted for a very long period as the legal and accepted tender even though by 2001 four different types of banknotes were in circulation¹³⁵ The aforementioned remittance system ensured a steady influx of foreign currency, e.g. via the hawala system.¹³⁶ Peter Little thus portrayed the economy of this war-torn society in rather sanguine terms:

The economy of Somalia goes on, even “booms” in some cases, despite an environment of risk and uncertainty. Traders do business and consumers buy products, and through it all markets generally follow principles of supply and

demand. Conflict disrupts commerce but, like droughts and floods, it becomes just another risk element for which the trader, producer, and consumer must adjust.¹³⁷

Thus describing the armed conflict as “just another risk element”, however, does not capture the full impact on society of a prevalence of violence which has now lasted for about eighteen years. It may make more sense to describe it as a “war economy” in which the profits reaped by certain segments of society give them an incentive to perpetuate the fighting, regardless of the chances of winning.¹³⁸

4.5 The Role of Religion

Like in the rest of East Africa, Islam came to Somalia via the Indian Ocean trade (and slaving) routes, where Arab and other traders established gradually expanding enclaves along the coast of East Africa.¹³⁹ Moreover, large numbers of Africans were simply converted to Islam via deliberate proselytizing (da’wa), mostly by Sufi “holy men.”¹⁴⁰ In the area between the Shebelle and Juba rivers, an Ajuraan imamate seems to have been in place from the 15th to the 17th Century. If not before that, then certainly by the early 16th Century, all of Somalia was clearly Muslim.¹⁴¹

The dominant form of Islam has ever since, at least until very recently, been that of Sufism.¹⁴² Hence the predominance of Sufi orders and brotherhoods (especially the Qadiriya, the Ahmediya and the Saalihiya) most of which are fairly liberal and often significantly “creolized,” i.e. syncretic. The clergy and scholars (ulama), on the other hand, tends to be more orthodox Sunni Muslims, and in many cases they are closely related (via clan, ethnic or patron-client bonds) to the ruling elites.¹⁴³ The influence of the more radical and/or conservative and fundamentalist Salafi orders (such as Wahhabism) is of a much more recent vintage. As argued by Ken Menkhaus, rigid forms of shari’a thus tend to be viewed as “an imposition of Gulf Arab customs, seen by most Somalis as “un-Somali,” whereas such fundamentalist variants of Islam are more likely to attract a popular following among the Somali diasporas in non-Muslim lands or in Somalia proper when confronted by a foreign and non-Muslim threat.¹⁴⁴

Religion had not played any major political role in Somalia until the 1990s.¹⁴⁵ A group called Waxda was founded in 1969, promoting the ideas of the Islamist reformers such as Qutb and Mawdudi, yet with entirely peaceful means and mainly in the present Somaliland. Siyad Barre’s regime nevertheless cracked down on them in 1978, thereby apparently further politicizing the organization leading its members to support the SNM with its secessionist agenda.¹⁴⁶ Neither did religious originations play any major role for most of the civil war, except in so far as they provided various social services and in the sense that Islam and its

various institutions were able to provide a modicum of security. Roland Marchal has identified a total of six predominantly religious groups playing a certain role: Ahle Sunna wa Jama'a, set up as a counter to the radicals by Aideed, the quietist Al Tabliq, Al Majma al Islam, the Wahhabist Ansar-e-Sunna, Al Islaah (Somali Islamic Movement) and Al-Ittihad al Islaamiya (AIAI) of which only the latter played any role as a combatant in the civil war.¹⁴⁷

AIAI is based on Wahhabism and an offspring of the Muslim Brotherhood. Its ancestry can be traced back to some of the early Islamic movements such as al-Ahli (founded in 1978 in Saudi-Arabia) and the Muslim Youth Union (Wahda al shabab al-Islam), which subsequently merged to form the Somali Islamic Union (SIU, i.e. al-Ittihad) in 1984, posing as a branch of the Muslim Brotherhood (al-Ikhwan al Muslimin) and with some overlap in membership with al-Islah.¹⁴⁸ Frequent allegations to the contrary notwithstanding, it seems to have had only weak and inconsequential links to al-Qaeda and similar networks.¹⁴⁹ AIAI had a militant agenda, based on a combination of nationalism/irredentism and Islam, on which it acted during the civil war, mainly in the form of guerrilla warfare. However, when it established territorial control (mainly over a couple of ports) it made itself vulnerable, in casu to an Ethiopian military intervention in 1996. Even before that, they had suffered from attacks launched by the present president of the TFG, Abdullah Yuusuf Ahmed, in control of most of what was to become the semi-autonomous Puntland, and already supported by Ethiopia.

Following their military defeat in the mid-1990s, AIAI seems to have abandoned the armed struggle as well as to have moved most of their activities to the Ogaden region of Ethiopia. On two occasions they have engaged in what might reasonably be called terrorism, but they are credited by the aforementioned MIPT Terrorism Knowledge Base with a mere two incidents (one in Somalia and one in Ethiopia, both in 1996) with a total of six fatalities and injuries.¹⁵⁰ According to some (Ethiopian) analyst it has primarily pursued a strategy of infiltration and it appears to have established some control of various charitable organizations allowing it to fund patronage networks, in addition to which it has sponsored Islamic courts, which have provided some law to the unruly country. There may thus have been pockets of Islamists in all the main, clan-based, factions, just as there may have been some infiltration in Puntland, Somaliland, perhaps even in Djibouti.¹⁵¹ The veracity of such claims is, however, difficult to determine, as most have their origins in Ethiopian intelligence and, it would seem, misinformation.

In recent years, however, AIAI seems to have virtually disappeared and it remains contested whether it even continues to exist.¹⁵² According to a 2005 report from the UN Security Council's Monitoring Group on Somalia, however, it had not only survived but was running no fewer than seventeen training camps

and importing and stockpiling armaments.¹⁵³ However, the usually at least as well-informed International Crisis Group questioned this, whilst pointing to a new jihadi group, Al-Shabaab, the comprising among others former AIAI combat veterans and led by a young militia leader called Aden Hashi Farah ‘Ayro, which is alleged to have links with al-Qaeda, even though these links have also been questioned as based on quite weak circumstantial evidence.¹⁵⁴ We shall return to some of these questions in the following section.

4.6 2006/07: *Annus Horribilis* for Somalia

The year 2006 was to become quite dramatic for Somalia, featuring the creation of a counter-terrorism alliance of warlords of dubious repute, the establishment of control over most of the country by the Islamic courts with a somewhat opaque agenda, and an Ethiopian armed intervention of dubious legality which was followed in 2007 by a rapid plunge of the country into an abyss of chaos and human suffering. Ken Menkhaus is surely right in describing this as a tragedy rather than a cataclysm, i.e. an inevitable consequence of structural factors:

[T]he extraordinary events in Somalia since 2005 (..) were by no means preordained. The current crisis in Somalia was eminently avoidable, the result of a series of bad or cynical decisions and occasionally horrific misjudgments by Somali and foreign leaders who should have known better. More than a few of those miscalculations were the product of hubris. That qualifies Somalia’s current crisis as a tragedy—in this case, a tragedy in five acts.¹⁵⁵

Having already dealt with what he calls the first act, i.e. the establishment of the TFG, we shall largely skip the second act, i.e. the apparently promising, but ultimately failed, security and stabilization plan for Mogadishu, launched in the summer of 2005 by the aforementioned break-away faction from the TFG (consisting mainly of Hawiye clans, factions and warlords) with some participation of civil society. For all its merits, it could also be seen as a trap intended for the TFG. If a modicum of security could be established in the national capital, it would have been hard for Yusuf’s TFG to refuse a relocation to Mogadishu, where he and his government (without foreign support) would be at the mercy of the Hawiye elites.¹⁵⁶

4.6.1. The CIA, the ARPCT and the Terrorist Threat from Somalia

It all seems to have begun with US efforts to enlist the support for its war on terror from various Somali warlords, including some who were formally parts of the TFI, but had broken ranks with President Yusuf. Even though it has not been officially confirmed, the United States—seemingly acting through the CIA and the private military company “Select Armor”—was in the beginning of 2006

“handing suitcases full of cash to warlords on the streets of Mogadishu,” as bluntly put by John Prendergast and Colin Thomas-Jensen, who estimated the cash flow to be \$150,000 per month. The outcome of these efforts was the formation in February 2006 of an Alliance for the Restoration of Peace and Counter-Terrorism (ARPCT, sometimes referred to as ATA: Anti-Terrorist Alliance).¹⁵⁷

The rationale for the Bush Administration’s support for the ARPCT was spelled out by Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Jenday Frazer, according to whom, “We will work with those elements that will help us root out al-Qaeda and to prevent Somalia becoming a safe haven for terrorists, and we are doing it in the interest of protecting America.”¹⁵⁸ By 2006, the general impression was indeed spreading in the United States that Somalia represented a special threat with regard to terrorism, but there was very little concrete about this impression, e.g. concerning who might do what to whom and how. The US State Department in the 2006 edition of its Country Reports on Terrorism thus only listed one Somali organization as terrorist, namely the aforementioned (and probably no longer existing) AIAI. It further claimed that three individuals were hiding in Somalia, enjoying the protection of the Council of Islamic Courts and the al Shabaab leadership: Fazul Abdallah Mohammed, Abu Talha al-Sudani, and Saleh Ali Saleh Nabhan, suspected for complicity in the 1998 embassy bombings and a 2002 hotel bombing in Kenya.¹⁵⁹ The US Treasury further listed four individuals (Abbas Abdi Ali, Hassan Dahir Aweys, Ahmad Ali Jimale and Abdullahi Hussein Kahie) on its “Terrorist Exclusion List” along with several companies and other entities located in Somalia, i.e. Al Barakaat (several branches and subsidiaries), Al Haramain (several branches and subsidiaries), Heyatul Ulya and Somali Internet Company as well as two organizations located elsewhere but providing aid to Somalia—the Somali Network AB (in Sweden) and Somali International Relief Organization (in the USA).¹⁶⁰ AIAI was included in the US “Terrorist Exclusion List,” but not on the US State Department’s list of designated “Foreign Terrorist Organisations”.¹⁶¹

These US listings have seemingly been more or less carbon-copied to that of the United Nations. The UN Security Council’s “1267 Commission” thus included on its list of individuals and entities associated with either the Taliban or Al Qaeda the AIAI, Al-Barakaat, Heyatul Ulya, the Somali International Relief Organization, the Somali Network Ab as well as Ali Abbas Abdi, Maxamed Cabdullaah Ciise, Hassan Dahir Aweys, Ali Ahmed Nur Jimale, Abdullahi Hussein Kahie, and Abdulkadir Hussein Mahamud.¹⁶² The European Union’s terrorist list, on the other hand, does not list any individuals or entities based in Somalia.¹⁶³

4.6.2. The Union of Islamic Courts: A Taliban Regime in the making?

As so many other steps in the war on terror, the US creation of the ARPCT seems to have seriously backfired, as it led directly to a countervailing alliance of the various Islamic Court throughout the country which inflicted a decisive defeat on the ARPCT in June 2006.¹⁶⁴

There is considerable confusion and disagreement about the organizational history of these courts, as well as about the name itself.¹⁶⁵ As mentioned above, shari'a courts had sprung up spontaneously, on a local scale and usually based on clans, especially since 1996. A Union of Islamic Courts (UIC) was formally established in 2002, according to Gérard Prunier,¹⁶⁶ whereas others have put the founding date somewhat later. The International Crisis Group thus mentions 2004 as the founding year of the Supreme Council of Islamic Courts of Somalia (SCIC) as the successor to a Shari'a Implementation Council, established in 2000.¹⁶⁷ In any case, a real unification, also including their paramilitary forces, i.e. court militias, only came about in 2006, mainly in response to the formation of the ARPCT. On the 20th of February court militias took up arms against the ARPCT warlords, producing heavy fighting for the following months, until the UIC finally defeated its opponents on the 16th of June.

Having established control of Mogadishu and most of the rest of Somalia (except Somaliland), the SCIC proceeded to establish order, actually managing to disarm most militias in Mogadishu and elsewhere, dismantle the roadblocks, to have the port and airport reopened, etc.—thus offering a significant improvement of the quality of daily life for civilian inhabitants.¹⁶⁸ They also set about governing, albeit in a somewhat incoherent and haphazard fashion—protecting the environment by banning the charcoal and wildlife trade,¹⁶⁹ caring for public health by banning the trade in khat and tobacco,¹⁷⁰ but also cracking down on a radio station and arresting journalists who were unsympathetic to their rule.¹⁷¹ As far as the implementation of shari'a, the SCIC sent mixed messages, one member reportedly having stated that people who did not pray the compulsory five times a day should be shot (sic!).¹⁷²

The SCIC also vacillated as far as its relations with the TFG were concerned, sometimes apparently being prepared for some form of compromise and power-sharing, sometimes not—which was also the case of the TFG.¹⁷³ Whereas the two sides seem to have partly agreed on the need for integrating their respective armed forces,¹⁷⁴ the SCIC was just as firm in its rejection of foreign (and especially Ethiopian) troops as the TFG was in its insistence on them.¹⁷⁵ Indeed, the SCIC even proclaimed a defensive jihad against what it saw as (in retrospect, correctly) a clandestine Ethiopian military intervention.¹⁷⁶ On the other hand, the UIC also lent some support to both the Ogaden National Liberation Front (consisting of ethnic Somali) and the Oromo Liberation Front,¹⁷⁷ just as they

forged close relations with Ethiopia's arch enemy Eritrea which probably saw the conflict as a proxy war that might allow it to "get even" with Ethiopia, having effectively lost the 1998-2000 war.¹⁷⁸

The best explanation of these mixed signals may be that the SCIC was a very mixed group without any clear hierarchical structure and with unclear chains of command. It featured both moderates such as the chairman Shaykh Sharif Shaykh Ahmed or his deputy, Sheykh Abdulkadir Omar, and more radical individuals such as former AIAI military commander Shaykh Hassan Dawir Aweys (designated by the USA as a terrorist) and the less well-known, but at least equally militant, Adan Hashi Ayro, who also seems to be in charge of the Al-Shaabab militia and responsible for several, rather nasty, terrorist attacks, e.g. on personnel of humanitarian agencies.¹⁷⁹

Apart from such warning signs, analogical reasoning may also have played a role on the part of especially the United States, inducing it to abandon its initial opposition to an Ethiopian intervention in favor of whole-hearted support for it. Not only were the circumstances in Somalia in some respects similar to those in Afghanistan in the mid-1990s, but there were also certain undeniable similarities between (at least elements within) the UIC and the Taliban around the time of the latter's ascent to power in Afghanistan in 1996.¹⁸⁰ Hence, Washington may have feared a repetition and have been eager to prevent this, disregarding the equally striking differences between the two cases.

4.6.3 The TFG and the Ethiopian Intervention

In December 2006, Ethiopia launched a major assault at the Islamic courts, ostensibly on behalf of the TNG. Considering that this was a very uneven battle, it was not particularly surprising that the SCIC chose not to fight, but left Mogadishu, perhaps to continue the struggle by other means, either as a guerilla war or in the form of terrorism.¹⁸¹ Nevertheless, fighting continued in the following months and was still continuing by the time of writing (end of July 2007) even though it was unclear whether the main combatants were militant Islamists or merely clan-based militias—but, on the other hand obvious, that they included a growing number of child soldiers. In any case, the response by the Ethiopian forces was very indiscriminate, killing hundreds of civilians and displacing hundreds of thousands, especially from the capital—but their opponents also "fought dirty," e.g. attacking humanitarian and UN agencies, and using roadside bombs.¹⁸²

Following the eviction of the UIC from Mogadishu, the TFG was now, at long last, able to establish its seat of government in the national capital, albeit only thanks to the continued Ethiopian militant support. It was somewhat equivocal

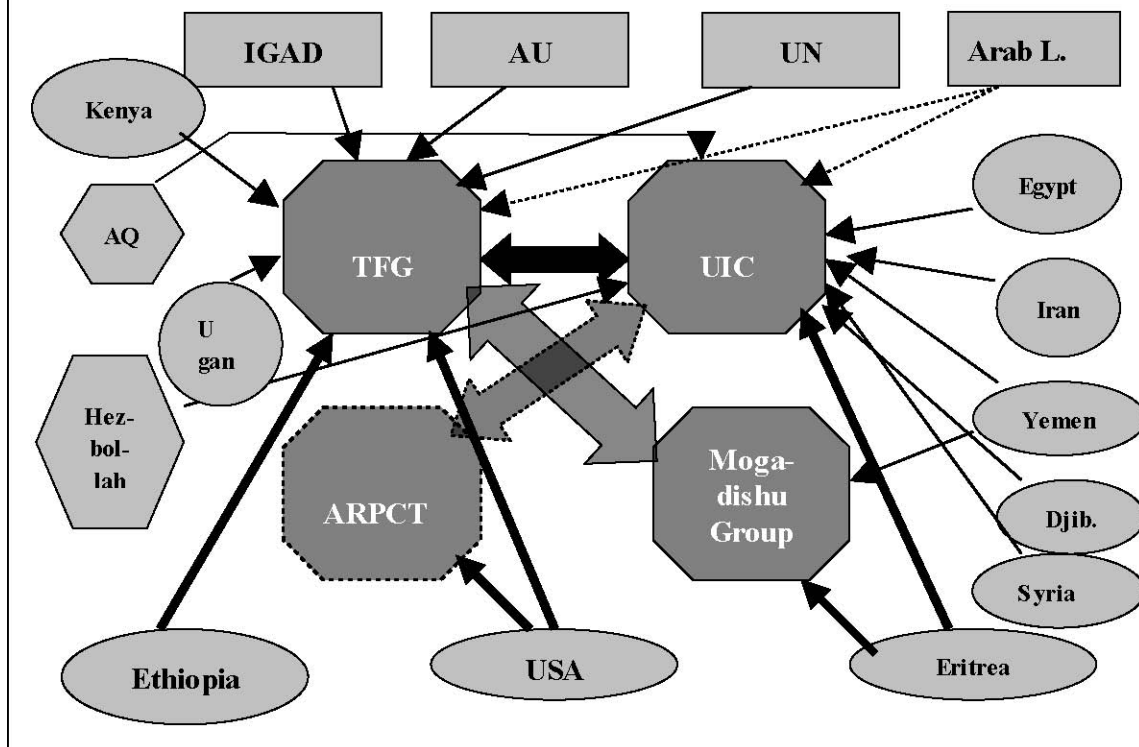
about its relationship with the remnants of the defeated UIC, some spokespersons expressing the intention of co-opting at least moderate elements into the TFIs, but others taking a less conciliatory position. As so often before, however, the TFG's ability to actually govern the country was extremely limited, also because they had lost most of whatever legitimacy they might have enjoyed in the first place by aligning so closely with what was seen by most Somali as a hostile invader and occupant. It probably did not help either that the TFG President explicitly endorsed the air strikes which the United States launched against Somalia in the wake of the Ethiopian intervention in January 2007, apparently killing more than thirty innocent civilians. While both the United Nations and the European Union criticized the air strikes, Yusuf condoned them with the argument that the USA "has the right to bombard terrorist suspects who attacked its embassies." Nor did he object to the transfer of at least one Somali detainees to the Guantanamo prison.¹⁸³ In May the Transitional Federal Parliament further passed an anti-terrorism bill introduced the TFG, allowing the latter to freeze property of people suspected of (as opposed to found guilty of) terrorist activities. An even more draconian measure included in the same bill was the institution of capital punishment for membership of a terrorist organization—regardless of whether this entailed actual terrorist activities.¹⁸⁴

The situation was thus quite volatile and the future unpredictable by the summer of 2007. Before nevertheless venturing some guesses about the future, it seems appropriate to provide an overview of the various external actors involved.

4.7 External Actors

The 2006/7 crisis brought into play a number of external actors, most of whom have been pursuing their national or organizational agendas regardless of their compatibility with the interests of the Somali people.

Fig. 2: Alignments and Antagonisms in Somalia 2006/07



The various humanitarian agencies constituted a partial exception, doing their best to cater for the innocent victims of the struggle, the refugees and internally displaced persons, under extremely challenging circumstances.¹⁸⁵ As will be obvious from the account above, the United States has been quite active throughout the crisis, yet almost exclusively pursuing its own security agenda with little regard for the Somali population. In addition to this, a plethora of neighboring states and international organizations have also been involved.

The complex picture of external support has been summarized in Fig. 2, in which ordinary arrows signify support and block arrows antagonism. If it appears confusing this simply testifies to its approximate accuracy, as the situation is indeed very complex and confusing.

4.7.1. Neighbors

Ethiopia has obviously been a major player, partly driven by legitimate security concerns—which does not mean that its actions have actually enhanced Ethiopian national security. Meles Zenawi and his government have probably been sincerely worried about the perceived rise to prominence of their old foe, the AIAI (even though they seem to have vastly exaggerated its importance and strength), especially considering that it seemed to hoist the irredentist flag once again. They have probably also been concerned about a possible spill-over of

Islamism from Somalia to their own population (about half of whom are Muslims),¹⁸⁶ especially considering the links forged between the UIC and the Ogaden and Oromo liberation movements, i.e. the Ogaden National Liberation Front (ONLF), the little known United Western Somali Liberation Front (UWSLF) and the Oromo OLF.¹⁸⁷ Finally, they have surely been concerned about the prospects of Somalia's falling under the influence of Eritrea.

Eritrea has throughout been a minor, but significant player, apparently supporting the UIC/SCIC with weapons—in clear violation of the UN embargo (*vide infra*). Eritrea's support has not been based on any religious or ideological affinity, as the regime of President Isaias Afwerki's PFDJ (People's Front for Democracy and Justice, an offspring of the old EPLF) is not at all Islamist (or even Muslim), but Christian and secular.¹⁸⁸ In fact, the regime is opposed by a couple of Islamist (and partly jihadist) rebel groups. The main opponents of the regime are the remnants of the former ELF (Eritrean Liberation Front), most of which are self-proclaimed Islamist. Some of them have at various stages resorted to an armed struggle, featuring elements of terrorism. This has, for instance, been the case of the Eritrean Islamic Jihad (EJI, sometimes referred to as EJIM: Eritrean Islamic Jihad Movement), founded in 1988 and based in Sudan, but operating in Eritrea since 1989, i.e. prior to independence, and allegedly related to al-Qaeda. Its leader in 1998 described the goals of the movement as "to realize our position as servants of Allah, and to establish the Islamic State."¹⁸⁹ What has spurred the support of the PFDJ regime for Islamist forces in Somalia has thus rather been the wish to support whomever Ethiopia was opposing according to the "my enemy's enemy is my friend" logic—or even its derivative, "my enemy's friend's enemy is my friend," as may have been the explanation for Asmara's support for the rebels—especially JEM (Justice and Equality Movement)—in the Darfur province of Sudan, viewed as opposing the government of Sudan, in turn seen as aligned with Ethiopia.¹⁹⁰ Following the Ethiopian intervention and considering IGAD's continued support for the TFG and its arch-enemy, Eritrea decided to suspend its membership of IGAD.¹⁹¹

The role of Sudan seems to have been minor and on the whole rather constructive, e.g. much more even-handed than one might have expected from a government based on Islamism. Khartoum has thus remained neutral throughout the conflict, but played the role as honest broker, e.g. during the stand-off between the TFG and the SCIC where Sudan hosted reconciliation talks between the opposing sides.¹⁹²

Kenya's role has been less central than one might have expected, considering that a good deal of the refugees from Somalia are bound to end up across their common border—and in view of its historical problems with Somali irredentism

and its alleged (but probably vastly exaggerated) “Islamist problem.”¹⁹³ Whatever substantive role Nairobi has taken has followed the multilateral track, i.e. it has been working through IGAD (vide infra). Without really taking a stand on the substance, however, Kenya has been collaborating closely with the United States by helping to close the border to Somalia (in breach of international obligations) and apprehend people suspected by Washington (or Ethiopia) of being aligned with terrorists.¹⁹⁴

4.7.2 International Organizations

Having served as the “midwife” of the TFG, it is hardly surprising that the subregional organization for the HoA, IGAD, has been unswervingly on the side of this so-called “government,” also because Ethiopia has a large say in the organization. IGAD was thus, from the very start, very favorably inclined towards the TFG’s request for armed protection.¹⁹⁵ as well as in favor of a relaxation of the arms embargo on Somalia in order to allow for a build-up of armed forces loyal to Yusuf and his entourage.¹⁹⁶ In June 2006 the organization (minus Eritrea) followed Kenya’s lead in imposing various sanctions, including a travel ban, on what it called “warlords,” some of whom they also wanted prosecuted for crimes against humanity.¹⁹⁷ Likewise without Eritrea’s participation, IGAD heads of state and government met in January for an extraordinary meeting at which they voiced no opinion on the Ethiopian intervention, yet took note of its intention to withdraw, urging the international community to take steps to prevent the emergence of a “security vacuum.”¹⁹⁸ Due to the organization’s weakness, however, its actual role has mainly consisted in putting pressure on the African Union.

The AU, in turn, could not easily go against one of the REC’s designated as its operational arms in the making—or against the expressed wishes of its host country, Ethiopia—and especially not at a historical juncture where its utility was being assessed by the world community with a view to granting much needed external support.¹⁹⁹ Moreover, considering that the OAU had already recognized the TNG, the AU chose to view the TFG as a simple successor which made its support for the latter almost preordained.²⁰⁰ The actual role of the AU was, however, quite modest, mainly because of a lack of armed forces and other resources. Having first dispatched a fact-finding mission and then acknowledged the need for the dispatch of “peacekeepers” to assist the TFG—and having endorsed the proposal by the United States and IGAD to lift or relax the arms embargo the Peace and Security Council in January 2007 mandated a peacekeeping mission (AMISOM) to take over from the Ethiopian forces. Even though it was mandated to comprise 8,000 troops —and partly financed by EU and US support of €15,000 and \$14,000, respectively—by the time of writing,

however, only Uganda had actually sent forces which had come under heavy fire and proved unable to establish even a modicum of peace in Mogadishu.²⁰¹

The role of the United Nations has been predominantly reactive, presumably because neither the organization as such nor the veto-wielding powers in the Security Council would want to land themselves in a situation resembling that of the early 1990s, obliging them to intervene (*vide supra*). The UNSC thus passed a total of twelve resolutions on Somalia since 2001 compared to fourteen in the years 1992-95, most of them dealing with the arms embargo which was imposed on Somalia in 1992 (UNSCR 733). In 2003 a Monitoring Group was established under the auspices of the Council's Sanctions Committee, which has ever since produced very detailed and insightful reports on the various breaches of the embargo.²⁰² It has, for instance, documented extensive violations of the regulations by several states, especially Ethiopia (in support of the TFG) and Eritrea in support of, first, the splinter faction of the TFIs from Mogadishu and then the UIC. This should be added the clandestine (and usually denied) support provided by Uganda and Kenya to the TFG and the even more secret support provided to the UIC by Arab countries such as Egypt, Libya and Syria as well as by Djibouti and Iran, not to mention the assistance provided by Hezbollah and even the Al Qaeda.²⁰³

Throughout the present crisis, the Secretary General has presented regular situation reports and the Security Council has passed several resolutions, mainly endorsing the various IGAD and AU initiatives (e.g. in UNSCR 1725 of 6 December 2006) for an international force whilst making it clear that this also entails the specification included in the IGAD deployment plan, according to which "those States that border Somalia would not deploy troops to Somalia" (art. 4). There was thus no *ex ante* authorization of the Ethiopian intervention (UNSCR 1725, art. 4). The Council did, however, amend the embargo to allow for the deployment of AMISOM (UNSCR 1744, art. 4-6).²⁰⁴ By the time of writing (ultimo July 2007), some consideration had been given to the deployment of a UN peacekeeping operation, but no decisions had been taken. The requisite strength of such a mission, even under the most optimistic assumptions, was estimated at around 20,000 troops with substantial air and maritime components.²⁰⁵

The Arab League has played a minor role as mediator in the crisis, mostly acting in consort with the AU and occasionally the United Nations,²⁰⁶ as has been the case of the European Union. An International Contact Group has been established, comprising the EU, Italy, Kenya, Norway, Sweden, Tanzania, the UK, the United States, the AU, IGAD, the League of Arab States, and the UN. At its meeting in January 2007, however, it merely took note of the new situation.²⁰⁷

4.8 Scenarios for the Future

By the time of writing in late July 2007, the prospects for the future looked very bleak indeed. The TFG and what was left of the UIC still had not come to terms with each other and the reconciliation conference between the two kept being postponed. The general security situation in the country had deteriorated considerably compared to one year earlier when the UIC was in control, and the TFG seemed completely unable to actually govern the country. The number of refugees and internally displaced persons had skyrocketed and the humanitarian crisis was very severe indeed, featuring shortages of just about everything—except weapons and ammunition. Rather than pretending to know what the future holds in store for the Somali, we may try to sketch the contours of an optimistic and a pessimistic scenario—hoping that the former will materialize whilst being more inclined to believe that the latter will.

Optimists might hope that the TFG with the help of its foreign supporters may be able to actually establish control of at least Mogadishu and parts of the rest of the country before its mandate expires in 2009.²⁰⁸ If the TFG manages to co-opt significant parts of the present opposition, e.g. influential members of the Hawyiye clan in and around the capital as well as (moderate, but still representative) Islamists, it may come to be viewed as reasonably legitimate by a major part of the population—especially if it manages to keep its Ethiopian backers at arms length and only draw on their support discretely. If the international community honors its pledges of support, the government might have enough funds available for distribution to actually achieve an improvement of the daily lives of its citizens. If so, it might achieve a “performance legitimacy” to make up for its shortage of procedural legitimacy, in which case its opponents may gradually come to be viewed by the Somali as spoilers rather than as freedom fighters protecting the nation against the Ethiopian foe. Not only might this benefit the Somali, but it might also make them less inclined to support terrorism, thus also furthering the national security of both Ethiopia and the United States. In other words, the Somali crisis could be contained as well as mitigated rather than spreading and escalating. Unfortunately, however, all its conceivability and indisputable attractions notwithstanding, this scenario does not seem at all likely at the present juncture.

A pessimistic—but in the present author’s opinion much more realistic—is premised on the assumption that the TFG regime is devoid of inherent legitimacy in the eyes that matter, i.e. those of the Somali nation. Not only was its coming into being somewhat questionable—exacerbated by its subsequent bending of the rules—but it is simply not sufficiently representative of the entire Somali nation, as it excludes some of the most important clans as well as other strata of the nation, defined in religious terms. “A victor’s peace in contemporary Somalia is a fantasy,” as aptly put by Ken Menkhaus.²⁰⁹ Trying to make up for the unsatisfactory representatively and governing capacity by

drawing heavily on Ethiopian (and American) support simply detracts further from what little legitimacy the regime might have had in the first place by giving it a “Quisling image.” This, in turn, makes the Somalia oppose the regime, either directly by taking up arms against it or indirectly, by lending moral and material support to those who do—perhaps even including terrorist.

Even though no armed conflict escalates in a linear fashion, but all have their ups and downs, there is no reason to expect the temporary lull in the fighting following the brutal Ethiopian offensive in Mogadishu to be more than just that—as the regime’s opponents can afford to bide their time and launch new assaults at what they deem to be an opportune moment. There is thus every reason to expect the conflict to continue as well as to spread to neighboring countries, mainly Ethiopia. While some of it may take the form of guerrilla warfare, it is also very likely that it will feature terrorist attacks conducted by the remnants of the UIC and its allies. The major attack against an oil field in Ethiopia by the ONLF, with a death toll of 74, may thus be a harbinger of worse to come.²¹⁰

It is also entirely conceivable that elements from the routed UIC—perhaps especially the Al-Shabaab, rather than AIAI—may join forces with Al-Qaeda, and that this may be motivated just as much by the “my enemy’s enemy is my ally” logic than by ideological-religious sympathy or affinity. In its turn, Al Qaeda is clearly welcoming the opening of a new battlefield in Somalia in addition to those in Afghanistan and Iraq, as is obvious from recent statements by Al-Zawahiri—often, albeit somewhat misleadingly, referred to as the second-in-command of AQ:

The near-term plan consists of targeting Crusader-Jewish interests, as everyone who attacks the Muslim Ummah must pay the price, in our country and theirs, in Iraq, Afghanistan, Palestine and Somalia, and everywhere we are able to strike their interests... And the long-term plan is divided into two halves: The first half consists of earnest, diligent work, to change these corrupt and corruptive regimes.... As for the second half of the long-term plan, it consists of hurrying to the fields of jihad like Afghanistan, Iraq and Somalia, for jihad preparation and training. Thus, it is a must to hurry to the fields of jihad for two reasons: The first is to defeat the enemies of the Ummah and repel the Zionist Crusade, and the second is for jihadi preparation and training to prepare for the next stage of the jihad.²¹¹

5. Conclusion

The above analysis has, hopefully, shown that much of the attention paid by the international community, and especially the United States under the auspices of its War on Terror, is based on erroneous premises. Neither has the Horn seen many terrorist attacks in the past, nor were there prior to the dramatic events in Somalia in 2006-07 any reasons to expect so for the future. There did not seem

to be much fertile soil for the seeds of Islamist extremism which some, including the Al Qaeda network, tried to sow there. Even though the subregion was host to several intractable conflicts most took the form of ordinary guerrilla war rather than terrorism, and most were primarily motivated by political grievances and nationalism rather than by religious fervor.

This was also the case of Somali, as the rather elaborate case study has tried to demonstrate. This conflict-ridden country has experienced a host of problems throughout its history, most of them related to the frustrated national ambitions and weak state structures—and ever since around 1990 the country has been at a state of war, pitting clans against each other with their respective political superstructures and in ever-changing patterns of alignments, both internally and with external players. Religious extremism has never been predominant and, at most, an epiphenomenon, i.e. a vehicle for articulating political grievances and rallying support for a political cause, rather than a motive for conflict at such. Moreover, contrary to prevailing opinion, Somalia has been neither a battlefield, staging area or breeding ground for terrorism, not even after its effective state collapse. Failed states are not nearly as attractive to terrorists groups or networks as moderately weak and/or moderately strong but sympathetic states.

There was thus no good reasons for the United States to fear terrorism in or from Somalia, but such fear were nevertheless a reality. Ironically, just as in Iraq—where there were no terrorists prior to the American invasion, but which was transformed by the invasion into the most terror-ridden country in the world—the steps taken by the USA to curtail a non-existent terrorist threat seems to have created one. When the United States sponsored a warlord alliance against terrorism it inadvertently helped bringing to power and subsequently radicalizing islamist forces. When it along with its ally Ethiopia then resorted to military force to dislodge these islamists from power, they may well have transformed them into a terrorist foe which may cause both of them considerable trouble in the years to come.

6. Endnotes

- 1 An example of the inclusion of Kenya is Lyons, Terrence B.: "The Horn of Africa Regional Politics: A Hobbesian World," in Howard Wriggins (ed.): *Dynamics of Regional Politics. Four Systems on the Indian Ocean Rim* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992), pp. 153-209. An example of the exclusion of Sudan is Selassie, Bereket Habte: *Conflict and Intervention in the Horn of Africa* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1980).
- 2 On IGAD see Juma, Monica Kathina: "The Intergovernmental Authority on Development and the East African Community," in Mwesiga Baregu & Christopher Landsberg (eds.): *From Cape to Congo. Southern Africa's Evolving Security Challenges* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2003), pp. 225-252; Adar, K.G.: "Conflict Resolution in a Turbulent Region: the Case of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) in Sudan," *African Journal on Conflict Resolution*, vol. 1, no. 2 (2000), pp. 39-68.
- 3 On the scramble in general see Pakenham, Thomas: *The Scramble for Africa* (London: Abacus, 1992), passim; Abernethy, David B.: *The Dynamics of Global Governance. European Overseas Empires 1415-1980* (New Haven, NJ: Yale University Press, 2000), pp. 81-104.
- 4 Marks, Thomas A.: "Djibouti: France's Strategic Toehold in Africa," *African Affairs*, vol. 73, no. 290 (1974), pp. 95104; Lewis, I.M.: *A Modern History of the Somali*, 4th ed. (Oxford: James Currey, 2002), pp. 45-48.

- 5 Hess, Robert L.: *Italian Colonialism in Somalia* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966); Lewis: op. cit. (note 4), pp. 50-56.
- 6 Vandervort, Bruce: *Wars of Imperial Conquest in Africa, 1830-1914* (London: UCL Press, 1998), pp. 22-25, 156-166; Edgerton, Robert B.: *Africa's Armies. From Honor to Infamy. A History from 1791 to the Present* (Boulder, CO: Westview, 2002), pp. 44-46; Rubenson, Sven: "Adwa 1896: The Resounding Protest," in Robert I. Rotberg & Ali A. Mazrui (eds.): *Protest and Power in Black Africa* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), pp. 113-142. On the background see idem: "Ethiopia and the Horn," in John E. Flint (ed.): *The Cambridge History of Africa*, vol. 5: *From c. 1790 to c. 1870* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), pp. 51-90; Caulk, Richard: "Between the Jaws of Hyenas". *A Diplomatic History of Ethiopia (1876-1896)* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2002), pp. 483-564. Hess, Robert L.: "Italian Imperialism in Its Ethiopian Context," *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, vol. 6, no. 1 (1973), pp. 94-109. On Eritrea see Caulk, Richard: "Ethiopia and the Horn," in A.D. Roberts (ed.): *The Cambridge History of Africa*, vol. 7: *From 1905 to 1940* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), pp. 702-741, especially, pp. 724-727; Pool, David: *From Guerrillas to Government. The Eritrean People's Liberation Front* (Oxford: James Currey, 2001), pp. 26-27. On the legal aspects of Italian rule see Favali, Lyda: *Blood, Land, and Sex. Legal and Political Pluralism in Eritrea* (Bloomington, IA: Indiana University Press, 2003), pp. 43-46.
- 7 Pakenham: op. cit. (note 3), pp. 456-457, 509-511, 547-548, 551-553; Dülffer, Jost, Martin Kröger & Rolf-Harald Wippich: *Vermiedene Kriege. Deeskalation von Konflikten der Großmächte zwischen Krimkrieg und Erstem Weltkrieg (1956-1914)* (München: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 1997), pp. 491-512. On the background see Lewis, David Levering: *The Race to Fashoda. European Colonialism and African Resistance in the Scramble for Africa* (New York: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1987). For a contemporary account see Churchill, Winston: *The River War. An Account of the Reconquest of the Sudan* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1899, excerpted in Harlow, Barbara & Mia Cartel (eds.): *Archives of Empire*, vol. II: *The Scramble for Africa* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003), pp. 65-75.
- 8 Logan, Rayford W.: "The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, a Problem in International Relations," *The Journal of Negro History*, vol. 16, no. 4 (1931), pp. 371-381. For a comprehensive historical account see Daly, M.W.: *Empire on the Nile: The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, 1898-1934*. 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); idem: *Imperial Sudan: the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium 1934-1956* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), passim; Powell, Eve M. Troutt: *A Different Shade of Colonialism. Egypt, Great Britain and the Mastery of the Sudan* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2003), passim.
- 9 Levine, Donald: *Greater Ethiopia. The Evolution of a Multiethnic Society*, 2nd ed. (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2000), pp. 69-91; Rubenson, Sven: "Ethiopia and the Horn," in John E. Flint (ed.): *The Cambridge History of Africa*, vol. 5: *From c. 1790 to c. 1870* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), pp. 51-90.; For a defense of Ethiopian imperialism see Haile, Getatchew: "The Unity and Territorial Integrity of Ethiopia," *Journal of Modern African Studies*, vol. 24, no. 3 (1986), pp. 465-487. On more recent hegemonic ambitions of Ethiopia seen in a historical perspective see Iyob, Ruth: "Regional Hegemony: Domination and Resistance in the Horn of Africa," *Journal of Modern African Studies*, vol. 31, no. 2 (1993), pp. 257-276.
- 10 Sidahmed, Abdel Salam: *Politics and Islam in Contemporary Sudan* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996), pp. 1047; Vandervort: op. cit. (note 6), pp. 166-169; Warner, Philip: *Dervish* (originally published 1973, reprinted Ware, Hertfordshire: Wordsworth Editions, 2000), pp. 22-31; Robinson, David: *Muslim Societies in African History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 169-181; Warburg, Gabriel: *Islam, Sectarianism and Politics in Sudan since the Mahdiyya* (London: Hurst & Co., 2003), pp. 30-42; Voll, John: "The Sudanese Mahdi: Frontier Fundamentalism," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, vol. 10, no. 2 (1979), pp. 145-166; Dekmejian, Richard H. & Margaret J. Wyszomirski: "Charismatic Leadership in Islam: The Mahdi of the Sudan," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, vol. 14, no. 2 (1972), pp. 193-214; Johnson, Nels: "Religious Paradigms of the Sudanese Mahdiyyah," *Ethnohistory*, vol. 25, no. 2 (1978), pp. 159-178.
- 11 On the somewhat inconsistent British policy vis-à-vis slavery in Sudan see Jok, Jok Madut: *War and Slavery in Sudan* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), pp. 90-98.
- 12 Holt, P.M. & M.W. Daly: *A History of the Sudan. From the Coming of Islam to the Present Day*. 5th ed. (Harlow: Longman, 2000), pp. 86-97.
- 13 Vandervort: op. cit. (note 6), pp. 169-177; Warner: op. cit. (note 10), pp. 168-225. See also the various contemporary accounts of the siege and subsequent fall of Khartoum (1884/85) in Harlow & Cartel (eds.): op. cit. (note 7), pp. 566-625—including Rudyard Kipling's tribute to the Mahdist fighters in the poem "Fuzzu-Wuzzy": "So 'ere's to you, Fuzzy-Wuzzy, at your 'ome in the Soudan/ You're a pore benighted 'eathen, but a first-class fightin' man" (ibid., pp. 622-623).
- 14 Holt & Daly: op. cit. (note 12), pp. 101-114; Ibrahim, Hassan Ahmed: "Mahdist Risings against the Condominium Government in the Sudan, 1900-1927," *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, vol. 12, no. 3 (1979), pp. 440-471.
- 15 Hess, Robert L.: "The 'Mad Mullah' and Northern Somalia," *Journal of African History*, vol. 5, no. 3 (1964), pp. 415-433; Turton, E.R.: "The Impact of Mohammad Abdille Hassan in the East Africa Protectorate," ibid., vol. 10, no. 4 (1969), pp. 641-657; Sheik, Abdi, Abdi: "Somali Nationalism: Its Origins and Future," *Journal of Modern African Studies*, vol. 15, no. 4 (1977), pp. 657-665; Lewis: op. cit. (note 4), pp. 63-91; Issa-Salwe, Abdisalam M.: *The Collapse of the Somali State: The Impact of the Colonial Legacy* (London: HAAN Publishing, 1996), pp. 21-34.
- 16 Mockler, Anthony: *Haile Selassie's War*. 2nd ed. (Oxford: Signal Books, 2003); Marcus, Harold G.: *A History of Ethiopia* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1994), pp. 139-146. On Ethiopias unsuccessful appeals to the League of Nations for support see Baer, George W.: *Test Case. Italy, Ethiopia, and the League of Nations* (Stanford,

- CA: Hoover Institution Press, 1976), *passim*; Northedge F. S.: *The League of Nations. Its Life and Times, 1920-1946* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1986), pp. 221-254; Walters, F.P.: *A History of the League of Nations* (London: Oxford University Press, 1960), pp. 623-691; Scott, George: *The Rise and Fall of the League of Nations* (New York: Macmillan, 1973), pp. 317-368. On Italian East Africa see Novati, Giampola Calchi: "Italy in the Triangle of the Horn: Too Many Corners for a Half Power," *Journal of Modern African Studies*, vol. 32, no. 3 (1994), pp. 369-385.
- 17 Marcus, Harold G.: *Ethiopia, Great Britain, and the United States, 1941-1974* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1983), pp. 8-78; Wilson, H.S. *African Decolonization* (London: Edward Arnold, 1994), pp. 117-125; Hrbek, Ivan: "North Africa and the Horn," in Ali A. Mazrui (ed.): *General History of Africa*, vol. VIII: *Africa since 1935* (Oxford: James Currey, 1999), pp. 127-160, especially pp. 150-155.
 - 18 Scholler, Heinrich: "The Ethiopian Federation of 1952: Obsolete Model or Guide for the Future," in Peter Woodward & Murray Forsyth (eds.): *Conflict and Peace in the Horn of Africa. Federalism and Its Alternatives* (Aldershot: Dartmouth, 1994), pp. 10-18. For the text of the Eritrean constitution see Negash, Tekeste: *Eritrea and Ethiopia. The Federal Experience* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1997), pp. 188-208. On the incorporation into Ethiopia see Selassie: *op. cit.* (note 1), pp. 58-63; Iyob, Ruth: *The Eritrean Struggle for Independence. Domination, Resistance, Nationalism, 1941-1993* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 82-97.
 - 19 Italian Somalia became independent on the 26th of June 1960, followed by British Somaliland on the 1st of July. On the latter occasion, the two states announced their unification as the Somali Republic—a decision which was reiterated and formalised in a new Act of Union passed in January 1961 and confirmed by a referendum in June of the same year. See Hess: *op. cit.* (note 5), pp. 191-196; Lewis: *op. cit.* (note 4), pp. 161-165; Mohamed, Jama: "Imperial Policies and Nationalism in the Decolonization of Somaliland, 1954-1960," *English Historical Review*, vol. 117, no. 474 (2002), pp. 1177-1203.
 - 20 The term is that of Brzezinski, Zbigniew: *The Grand Chessboard. American Primacy and Its Geostategic Imperatives* (New York: Basic Books, 1997).
 - 21 Good overviews are Selassie: *op. cit.* (note 1); and Woodward, Peter: *The Horn of Africa. Politics and International Relations* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2003), pp. 134-150; Zartman, I William: "Superpower Cooperation in North Africa and the Horn," in Roger E. Kanet & Edward A. Kolodziej (eds.): *The Cold War as Cooperation. Superpower Cooperation in Regional Conflict Management* (Baltimore, ML: John Hopkins University Press, 1991), pp. 147-170; Makinda, Samuel: "Security in the Horn of Africa," *Adelphi Paper*, no. 269 (London: Brassey's, 1992); Gambari, Ibrahim A.: "The Character, Fundamental Issues and Consequences of the Conflict in the Horn of Africa," in George Nzongola-Ntalaja (ed.): *Conflict in the Horn of Africa* (Atlanta, GA: African Studies Association Press, 1991), pp. 7-18; Lyons: *loc. cit.* (note 1); Harbeson, John W.: "Post-Cold War Politics in the Horn of Africa: The Quest for Political Identity Intensified," in idem & Donald Rothchild (eds.): *Africa in World Politics. Post-Cold War Challenges*. 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1995), pp. 127-146; Clapham, Christopher: "The Horn of Africa: A Conflict Zone," in Oliver Furley (ed.): *Conflict in Africa* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1995), pp. 72-91; Cliffe, Lionel: "Regional Dimensions of Conflict in the Horn of Africa," *Third World Quarterly*, vol. 20, no. 1 (1999), pp. 89-112; Prendergast, John: "Building for Peace in the Horn of Africa. Diplomacy and Beyond," *Special Report* (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace, 1999); Markakis, John: "The Horn of Conflict," *Review of African Political Economy*, vol. 30, no. 97 (2003), pp. 359-362; Iyob: *loc. cit.* (note 9). On arms sales see Brzoska, Michael & Thomas Ohlson: *Arms Transfers to the Third World, 1971-85* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), pp. 173-175, 246-248; Brzoska, Michael & Frederic S. Pearson: *Arms and Warfare. Escalation, De-escalation and Negotiation* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1994), pp. 180-198.
 - 22 On the concepts see Buzan, Barry, Morten Kelstrup, Pierre Lemaitre, Elzbieta Tromer & Ole Wæver: *The European Security Order Recast. Scenarios for the Post-Cold War Era* (London: Pinter, 1990), pp. 15-16, 36-41. 23 Lefebvre Jeffrey A.: *Arms for the Horn. U.S. Security Policy in Ethiopia and Somalia 1953-1991* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1991), p. 19. See also Selassie: *op. cit.* (note 1), pp. 129-150 & *passim*.
 - 24 Halliday, Fred & Maxine Molineux: *The Ethiopian Revolution 1974-1987. A Transformation from an Aristocratic to a Totalitarian Autocracy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).
 - 25 Lefebvre, Jeffrey A.: "The United States, Ethiopia and the 1963 Somali-Soviet Arms Deal: Containment and the Balance of Power Dilemma in the Horn of Africa," *Journal of Modern African Studies*, vol. 36, no. 4 (1998), pp. 611-643; idem: *op. cit.* (note 23), *passim*. On the Kagnew station see *ibid.*, pp. 73-74, 102-103, 139-142, 147-148, 157-159. See also Korn, David A.: *Ethiopia, the United States, and the Soviet Union* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1986); Marcus: *op. cit.* (note 17), pp. 79-114; Farer, Tom J.: *War Clouds on the Horn of Africa: The Widening Storm*, 2nd ed. (New York: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1979), pp. 131-142; Gorman, Robert F.: *Political Conflict on the Horn of Africa* (New York: Praeger, 1981), pp. 124-134; Chaliand, Gerard: "The Horn of Africa's Dilemma," *Foreign Policy*, no. 30 (1978), pp. 116-131; Selassie, Bereket Habte: "The American Dilemma on the Horn," *Journal of Modern African Studies*, vol. 22, no. 2 (1984), pp. 249-272; Schwab, Peter: "Cold War on the Horn of Africa," *African Affairs*, vol. 77, no. 306 (1978), pp. 6-20; Petterson, Donald: "US Policy in the Horn Africa. Ethiopia Abandoned? An American Perspective," *International Affairs*, vol. 62, no. 4 (1986), pp. 627-645.
 - 26 Selassie: *op. cit.* (note 1), pp. 141-146; Yakobson, Sergius: "The Soviet Union and Ethiopia: A Case of Traditional Behavior," *Review of Politics*, vol. 25, no. 3 (1963), pp. 329-342; David, Steven: "Realignment in the Horn: The Soviet Advantage," *International Security*, vol. 4, no. 2 (1979), pp. 69-90; Bienen, Henry: "Soviet Political Relations with Africa," *ibid.*, vol. 6, no. 4 (1982) pp. 153-173; Brind, Harry: "Soviet Policy in the Horn of Africa," *International Affairs*, vol. 60, no. 1 (1983), pp. 75-95.

- 27 MacFarlane, Stephen Neil: "Russia, Africa, and the End of the Cold War," in Mohiaddin Mesbahi (ed.): *Russia and the Third World in the Post-Soviet Era* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 1994), pp. 225-249; Kanet, Roger E.: "From New Thinking to the Fragmentation of Consensus in Soviet Foreign Policy: the USSR and the Developing World," in idem, Tamara J. Resler & Deborah N. Miner (eds.): *Soviet Foreign Policy in Transition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 121-144; idem: "Changing Soviet National Security Policy in Relations with the Third World," in George E. Hudson (ed.): *Soviet National Security Policy under Perestroika* (Boston, MA: Unwin Hyman, 1990), pp. 221-246; Saunders, Harold H.: "The Soviet-U.S. Relationship and the Third World," in Robert Jervis & Seweryn Bialer (eds.): *Soviet-American Relations after the Cold War* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1991), pp. 109-132; Chenoy, Anuradha M.: "Soviet New Thinking on National Liberation Movements: Continuity and Change," *ibid.*, pp. 145-160; Botha, Pierre de Toit: "The Soviet Reassessment of Socialist Orientation and the African Response," *ibid.*, pp. 180-195.
- 28 Woodward, Peter: *US Foreign Policy and the Horn of Africa* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), pp. 17-35 & *passim*.
- 29 *Ibid.*, pp. 37-58. See also the work by former US ambassador to Khartoum, Donald Petterson: *Inside Sudan. Political Islam, Conflict, and Catastrophe* (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1999), *passim*. On relations with the Nimeiri regime see Wai, Dunstan M.: "The Sudan: Domestic Politics and Foreign Relations under Nimeiri," *African Affairs*, vol. 78, no. 312 (1979), pp. 297-317. On the NIF coup see Warburg: *op. cit.* (note 10), pp. 205-221; Lesch, Ann Mosely: *The Sudan. Contested National identities* (Oxford: James Currey, 1998), pp. 113-147; Sidahmed: *op. cit.* (note 10), pp. 189-226. On its ideologue, Hassan Al Turabi, see also De Waal, Alex & A.H. Abdel Salam: "Islamism, State Power and Jihad in Sudan," in Alex de Waal (ed.): *Islamism and Its Enemies in the Horn of Africa* (London: Hurst & Co, 2004), pp. 71-113; Warburg: *op. cit.*, pp. 144-147, 153-162, 175-193; Morrison, Scott: "The Political Thought of Hassan Al Turabi of Sudan," *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations*, vol. 12, no. 2 (2001), pp. 153-160; Smilianiov, Ivan: "Aspects of Hasan al-Turabi's Islamist Discourse," in Majibritt Johannsen & Niels Kastfelt (eds.): *Sudanese Society in the Context of Civil War* (Copenhagen: University of Copenhagen, North/South Priority Area, 2001), pp. 113-124.
- 30 Woodward: *op. cit.* (note 28), pp. 113-133.
- 31 See, for instance, Bergesen, Albert J. & Omar Lizardo: "International Terrorism and the World-System," *Sociological Theory*, vol. 22, no. 1 (2004), pp. 38-52; Putzel, James: "Cracks in the US Empire: Unilateralism, the 'War on Terror' and the Developing World," *Journal of International Development*, vol. 18, no. 1 (2006), pp. 69-85; Patman, Robert G.: "Globalisation, the New US Exceptionalism and the War on Terror," *Third World Quarterly*, vol. 27, no. 6 (2006), pp. 963-986; Posen, Barry R.: "The Struggle against Terrorism: Grand Strategy, Strategy, and Tactics," *International Security*, vol. 26, no. 3 (2001), pp. 39-55.
- 32 Bush, George W.: "Address to a Joint Session of Congress and the American People," 20 September 2001, at www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010920-8.html.
- 33 Boulden, Jane: "Terrorism," in Thomas G., Weiss & Sam Daws (eds.): *The Oxford Handbook on the United Nations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 427-436.
- 34 NATO's press release issued on the 12th of September 2001 is reprinted in *Patterns of Global Terrorism 2001* (Washington, DC: State Department 2001), p. 163. See also De Nevers, René: "NATO's International Security Agenda in the Terrorist Era," *International Security*, vol. 31, no. 4 (2007), pp. 34-66; Cox, Michael: "Beyond the West: Terrors in Transatlantia," *European Journal of International Relations*, vol. 11, no 2 (2005), pp. 203-233.
- 35 Ronzitti, Natalino: "The Expanding Law of Self-Defence," *Journal of Conflict and Security Law*, vol. 11, no. 3 (2006), pp. 343-359; Ruys, Tom & Sten Verhoven: "Attacks by Private Actors and the Right of Self-Defence," *ibid.*, vol. 10, no. 3 (2005), pp. 289-320. On *jus ad bellum* and *jus in bello* see also De Lupis, Ingrid Detter: *The Law of War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); Green, L.C.: *The Contemporary Law of Armed Conflict* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993); McCoubrey, H. & N.D. White: *International Law and Armed Conflict* (Aldershot: Dartmouth, 1992); Dinstein, Yoram: *War, Aggression and Self-Defence*. 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Grotius Publications, Cambridge University Press, 1994); Murphy, John F.: "Force and Arms," in Oscar Schachter & Christopher C. Joyner (eds.): *United Nations Legal Order*, vols. 1-2 (Cambridge: Grotius Publications, 1995), vol. 1, pp. 247-318; Shaw, Malcolm N.: *International Law*. 3rd ed. (Cambridge: Grotius Publications, 1991), pp. 681-740.
- 36 On paradox that actual wars are rarely declared as such see Hallett, Brien: *The Lost Art of Declaring War* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1998).
- 37 Wæver, Ole: "Securitization and Desecuritization," in Ronnie D. Lipschutz (ed.): *On Security* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), pp. 46-86.
- 38 Wolfendale, Jessica: "Terrorism, Security, and the Threat of Counterterrorism," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, vol. 30, no. 1 (2007), pp. 75-92; Niskanen, William A.: "The Several Costs of Responding to the Threat of Terrorism," *Public Choice*, vol. 128, no. 1-2 (2006), pp. 351-356. Cole, D.: "The New MacCarthyism: Repeating History in the War on Terrorism," *Harvard Civil Rights-Civil Liberties Law Review*, vol. 38, no. 1 (2003), pp. 1-30; Diken, Bülent: "From Exception to Rule: from 9/11 to the Comedy of (T)errors," *Irish Journal of Sociology*, vol. 15, no. 1 (2006), pp. 81-98; Neocleous, Mark: "The Problem with Normality: Taking Exception to 'Permanent Emergency'," *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political*, vol. 31, no. 2 (2006), pp. 191-213; Bellamy, Alex J.: "No Pain, No Gain? Torture and Ethics in the War on Terror," *International Affairs*, vol. 82, no. 1 (2006), pp. 121-148; Hooks, Gregory & Clayton Mosher: "Outrages Against Personal Dignity: Rationalizing Abuse and Torture in the War on Terror," *Social Forces*, vol. 83, no. 4 (2005), pp. 1627-1645; Saurette, Paul: "Humiliation and the Global War on Terror," *Peace Review*, vol. 17, no. 1 (2005), pp. 47-54; Bhandar, Davina: "Renormalizing Citizenship and Life in Fortress North America," *Citizenship Studies*, vol. 8, no. 3 (2004), pp. 261-278; Van Courtland Moon, John Ellis: "The Death of Distinctions from 9/11 to Abu Ghraib," *Politics and the Life Sciences*, vol. 23, no. 2 (2004), pp. 2-12; Marguiles, Joseph: "A Prison Beyond the Law," *Virginia Quarterly Review*, vol. 80, no. 4 (2004), pp. 37-55; Martinez, Jenny S.: "José Padilla and the War on Rights," *ibid.*, pp. 56-67; Gare, Arran: "The Politics of Recognition

- versus the Politics of Hatred,” *Democracy and Nature: The International Journal of Inclusive Democracy*, vol. 8, no. 2 (2002), pp. 261-280. For a more favourable interpretation see Foxell Jr., Joseph W.: “In Defense of the Bush Administration’s ‘War on Terror’,” *American Foreign Policy Interests*, vol. 27, no. 2 (2005), pp. 125-136.
- 39 Kennedy, Liam: “Enduring Freedom: Public Diplomacy and U.S. Foreign Policy,” *American Quarterly*, vol. 57, no. 2 (2005), pp. 309-333.
- 40 See “Operation Enduring Freedom-Trans Sahara (OETF-TS)” and “Trans-Sahara Counterterrorism Initiative,” at www.GlobalSecurity.org; and Boudali, Lianne Kennedy: “The Trans-Sahara Counterterrorism Partnership” (West Point, NY: Combating Terrorism Center, United States Military Academy, 2007). On the background see Wycoff, Karl: “Fighting Terrorism in Africa,” testimony before the House International Relations Committee, Subcommittee on Africa, 1 April 2004, at www.state.gov/s/ct/rls/rm/2004/31077.htm; Patterns of International Terrorism 2002 (Washington, DC: State Department, 2002), p. 4. See also “Terrorism in the Horn of Africa,” Special Report, no. 113 (Washington, DC: United States Institute for Peace, 2004), at www.usip.org/pubs/specialreports/sr113.pdf. For a critique see also Keenan, Jeremy: “Waging War on Terror: The Implications of America’s ‘New Imperialism’ for Saharan Peoples,” *Journal of North African Studies*, vol. 10, no. 3-4 (2005), pp. 619-647; International Crisis Group: “Islamist Terrorism in the Sahel: Fact or Fiction?” *Africa Reports*, no. 92 (Brussels: ICG, 2005); Adebajo, Adekeye: “Africa and America in an Age of Terror,” *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, vol. 38, no. 2-3 (2003), pp. 175-191.
- 41 See the website of the transition team at www.eucom.mil/africom/.
- 42 See its website at www.hoa.centcom.mil/english.asp.
- 43 On the doctrine in general see Klare, Michael: *Rogue States and Nuclear Outlaws. America’s Search for a New Foreign Policy* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1995), pp. 130-168; Tanter, Raymond: *Rogue Regimes. Terrorism and Proliferation* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1998). On the partial inclusion of Sudan on the list see Litwak, Robert S.: *Rogue States and U.S. Foreign Policy. Containment after the Cold War* (Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press, 2000), pp. 77-78.
- 44 Kushner, Harvey W.: “The New Terrorism,” in idem (ed.): *The Future of Terrorism: Violence in the New Millennium* (London: Sage, 1998), pp. 3-20, especially pp. 12-13; Laqueur, Walter: *The New Terrorism. Fanaticism and the Arms of Mass Destruction* (London: Phoenix Press, 2001), pp. 180-183.
- 45 See “State Sponsors of Terrorism” at www.state.gov/s/ct/c14151.htm
- 46 For an in-depth analysis of this see Champagne, Becky (lead ed.): *Anatomy of a Terrorist Attack. An In-Depth Investigation into the 1998 Bombings of the U.S. Embassies in Kenya and Tanzania* (Pittsburg: Matthew B. Ridgway Center, 2005).
- 47 Benjamin, Daniel & Steven Simon: “A Failure of Intelligence?,” in Robert B. Silvers & Barbara Epstein (eds.): *Striking Terror. America’s New War* (New York: New York Review Books, 2002), pp. 281-299. A partial defensorate of the US bombing is Pillar, Paul R.: *Terrorism and U.S. Foreign Policy* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2001), pp. 107-109.
- 48 Patterns of International Terrorism 2001 (Washington, DC: Department of State, 2002), pp. 68. On the response of the rest of Africa to the 11 September attacks see the Communiqué of the 26th Ordinary Session of the Central Organ of the OAU Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution, Addis Ababa, 20 September 2001, reprinted *ibid.*, p. 169.
- 49 See the chapter on “State Sponsors of Terrorism,” in the 2007 edition of Country Reports on Terrorism (Washington, DC: State Department, 2007), which was by the time of writing only available in the html version at www.state.gov/s/ct/rls/crt/2006/82736.htm
- 50 See, for instance, Morrison, J. Stephen: “Somalia’s and Sudan’s Race to the Fore in Africa,” *Washington Quarterly*, vol. 25, no. 2 (2002), pp. 191-205; Lyman, Princeton N. & J. Stephen Morrison: “The Terrorist Threat in Africa,” *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 83, no. 1 (2004), pp. 75-86; Haynes, Jeffrey: “Islamic Militancy in East Africa,” *Third World Quarterly*, vol. 26, no. 8 (2005), pp. 1321-1339; Rotberg, Robert I. (ed.): *Battling Terrorism in the Horn of Africa* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2005), especially the introductory chapter by idem: “The Horn of Africa and Yemen. Diminishing the Threat of Terrorism,” *ibid.*, pp. 1-22; “Terrorism in the Horn of Africa,” (op. cit., note 40); Glickman, Harvey: “Africa in the War on Terrorism,” *Journal of African and Asian Studies*, vol. 38, no. 2-3 (2003), pp. 162-174; Kraxberger, Brennan M.: “The United States and Africa: Shifting Geopolitics in an ‘Age of Terror’,” *Africa Today*, vol. 52, no. 1 (2005), pp. 47-68; Curtis, Glenn E, John N. Gibbs & Ramón Miró: “Nations Hospitable to Organized Crime and Terrorism,” *Trends in Organized Crime*, vol. 8, no. 1 (2004), pp. 5-23; Dagne, Theodoros: “Africa and the War on Terrorism: The Case of Somalia,” *Mediterranean Quarterly*, vol. 13, no. 4 (2002), pp. 62-73. For a much more sobering analysis, see Harmony Project: *Al Qaeda’s (Mis)Adventures in the Horn of Africa* (Westpoint, NY: Combating Terrorism Center, United States Military Academy, 2007), *passim*.
- 51 Takeyh, Ray & Nikolas Gvosdev: “Do Terrorist Networks Need a Home?,” *Washington Quarterly*, vol. 25, no. 3 (2002), pp. 97-108; Rotberg, Robert I.: “Failed States in a World of Terror,” *ibid.*, vol. 81, no. 4 (2002), pp. 127-140; Mallaby, Sebastian: “The Reluctant Imperialist: Terrorism, Failed States, and the Case for American Empire,” *ibid.*, no. 2 (2002), pp. 2-7; Walt, Stephen M.: “Beyond bin Laden: Reshaping U.S. Foreign Policy,” *International Security*, vol. 26, no. 3 (2001), pp. 56-78; Manwaring, Max G.: “The New Global Security Landscape: The Road Ahead,” *Low Intensity Conflict and Law Enforcement*, vol. 11, no.2-3 (2002), pp. 190-209. For a critique see Møller, Bjørn: “Terror Prevention and Development Aid: What We Know and Don’t Know,” DIIS Report, no. 2007:3 (Copenhagen: DIIS, 2007); Logan, Justin & Christopher Preble: “Failed States and Flawed Logic: The Case against a Standing Nation-Building Office,” *Policy Analysis*, no. 560 (Washington, DC: Cato Institute, 2006); Harmony Project: op. cit. (note

50),
pp.

- 52 Rosenau, William: "Al Qaida Recruitment Trends in Kenya and Tanzania," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, vol.28, no. 1 (2005), pp. 1-10.
- 53 The following section is drawn, with only minor revisions, from Møller: op. cit. (note 50), pp. 135-140.
- 54 Based on data from the MPIT Terrorism Knowledge Base at <http://tkb.org/Home.jsp>, last accessed on 19 October 2006.
- 55 On the LRA see Ward, Kevin: "'The Armies of the Lord': Christianity, Rebels and the State in Northern Uganda, 1986-1999," *Journal of Religion in Africa*, vol. 31, no. 2 (2001), pp. 187-221; International Crisis Group (ICG): "Northern Uganda: Understanding and Solving the Conflict," *Africa Reports*, no. 77 (Brussels: ICG, 2004); Von Acker, Frank: "Uganda and the Lord's Resistance Army: the New Order No One Ordered," *African Affairs*, vol. 103 no. 412 (2004), pp. 335-357; Dunn, Kevin C.: "Uganda: The Lord's Resistance Army," in Morten Bøås & idem (eds.): *African Guerrillas. Raging against the Machine* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2007), pp. 131-149.
- 56 Chande, Abidin: "Radicalism and Reform in East Africa," in Nehemia Levtzion & Randall L. Pouwels (ed.): *The History of Islam in Africa* (Oxford: James Currey, 2000), pp. 349-369. On Salafism and Wahhabism see Dallal, Ahmad: "The Origins and Objectives of Islamic Revivalist Thought, 1750-1850," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. 113, no. 3 (1993), pp. 341-359; Cooper, Barry: *New Political Religions, or an Analysis of Modern Terrorism* (University of Missouri Press, 2004), pp. 72-109. See also Loimeier, Roman: "Patterns and Peculiarities of Islamic Reform in Africa," *Journal of Religion in Africa*, vol. 33, no. 3 (2003), pp. 237-262; archesin, Philippe: "The Rise of Islamic Fundamentalism in East Africa," *African Geopolitics*, no. 12 (2003), at <http://www.african-geopolitics.org/>
- 57 Vikør, Knut S.: "Sufi Brotherhoods in Africa," in Levtzion & Pouwels (eds.): op. cit. (note 56), pp. 441-476; Kapteijns, Lidwien: "Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa," *ibid.*, pp. 227-250; Lewis, I.M.: "Sufism in Somaliland: A Study in Tribal Islam," parts I and II, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, vol. 17, no. 3 (1955), pp. 581-602, and *ibid.*, vol. 18, no. 1 (1956), pp. 145-160.
- 58 Salih, M. A. Mohamed: "Islamic N.G.O.s in Africa: the Promise and Peril of Islamism," in De Waal (ed.): op. cit. (note 29), pp. 146-181. Most Islamic charities are, however, exactly that, based on Islam's tenet about alms and zakat. See, for instance, Benthall, Jonathan: "Financial Worship: The Quranic Injunction to Almsgiving," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Society*, vol. 5, no. 1 (1999), pp. 27-42; Bonner, Michael: "Poverty and Economics in Islam," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, vol. 35, no. 3 (2005), pp. 391-406; Dean, Hartley & Zafar Khan: "Muslim Perspective on Welfare," *Journal of Social Policy*, vol. 26, no. 2 (1997), pp. 193-210; El-Ashker, Ahmed & Rodney Wilson: *Islamic Economics. A Short History* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), pp. 356-365.
- 59 Salih, M.A. Mohamed: *African Democracies and African Politics* (London: Pluto Press, 2001), pp. 99-100; International Crisis Group: *Good, Oil and Country. Changing the Logic of War in Sudan* (Brussels: ICG, 2002), pp. 53-56.
- 60 Davidson, Basil: *Africa in History* (London: Phoenix Press, 2001), pp. 79-80.
- 61 Brown, David J.L.: "Recent Developments in the Ethiopia-Somaliland Dispute," *International and Comparative Law Quarterly*, vol. 10, no. 1 (1961), pp. 167-178, especially p. 171; Ware, Gilbert: "Somalia: From Trust Territory to Nation, 1950-1960," *Phylon*, vol. 26, no. 2 (1965), pp. 173-185, especially p. 183.
- 62 This war between Kenya and the "Shifta," calling themselves the NFDLA (Northern Frontier Districts Liberation Army) might be labelled a "proxy war" because of the deep involvement of Somalia in support of the rebels. See Mburu, Nene: *Bandits on the Border. The Last Frontier in the Search for Somali Unity* (Trenton, NJ: The Red Sea Press, 2005), pp. 64-80 & passim; Castagno, A. A.: "The Somali-Kenyan Controversy: Implications for the Future," *Journal of Modern African Studies*, vol. 2, no. 2 (1964), pp. 165-188; Turton, E. R.: "Somali Resistance to Colonial Rule and the Development of Somali Political Activity in Kenya 1893-1960," *Journal of African History*, vol. 13, no. 1 (1972), pp. 119-143.
- 63 Tareke, Gebru: "The Ethiopia-Somalia War 1977 Revisited," *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, vol. 33, no. 3 (2000), pp. 635-667.
- 64 Lyons: loc. cit. (note 1), p. 173.
- 65 Compagnon, Daniel: "Somali Armed Movements," in Christopher Clapham (ed.): *African Guerrillas* (Oxford: James Currey, 1998), pp. 73-90.
- 66 Eshete, Andreas: "The Protagonists in Constitution-Making in Ethiopia," in Goran Hyden & Denis Venter (eds.): *Constitution-Making and Democratisation in Africa* (Pretoria: Africa Institute of South Africa, 2001), pp. 69-90; Wodajo, Kifle: "The Making of the Ethiopian Constitution," *ibid.*, pp. 132-142; Pausewang, Siegfried, Kjetil Tronvoll & Lovise Aalen: "A Process of Democratisation and Control? The Historical and Political Context," in idem, idem & idem (eds.): *Ethiopia since the Derg. A Decade of Democratic Pretention and Performance* (London: Zed, 2002), pp. 26-45. Cohen, John M. "Decentralization and 'Ethnic Federalism' in Post-Civil War Ethiopia," in Krishna Kumar (ed.): *Rebuilding Societies after Civil War. Critical Roles for International Assistance* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1997), pp. 135-154; Mengistehad, Kidane: "New Approaches to State-Building in Africa: The Case of Ethiopia's Ethnic-Based Federalism," *African Studies Review*, vol. 40, no. 3 (1997), pp. 111-132; Ottaway, Marina: "Ethnic Politics in Africa," in Richard Joseph (ed.): *State, Conflict and Democracy in Africa* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1999), pp. 299-317, especially pp. 309-310 and 313-314; Salih: op. cit. (note 59), pp. 192-199; Serra-Horguelin: "The Federal Experiment in Ethiopia. A Socio-Political Analysis," *Travaux et Documents*, no. 64 (Bordeaux: Centre d'études d'Afrique Noire, IEP de Bordeaux, 1999); Fiseha, Assefa: "Theory versus Practice in

- the Implementation of Ethiopia's Ethnic Federalism," in David Turton (ed.) : *Ethnic Federalism. The Ethiopian Experience in Comparative Perspective* (Oxford: James Currey 2006), pp. 131-164; Cohen, Gideon : "The Development of Regional and Local Languages in Ethiopia's Federal System," *ibid.*, pp. 165-180.
- 67 Tadesse, Medhane: *Al-Ittihad. Political Islam and Black Economy in Somalia* (Addis Ababa: Meag Press, 2002), pp. 63-65.
- 68 See, for instance, De Montclos, Marc-Antoine Pérouse: "A Refugee Diaspora: When the Somali Go West," in Khalid Koser (ed.): *New African Diasporas* (London: Routledge, 2003), pp. 37-55; Gundel, Joakim: "The Migration-Development Nexus: Somalia Case Study," *International Migration*, vol. 40, no. 5 (2002), pp. 255-281.
- 69 Collier, Paul & Anke Hoeffler: "The Political Economy of Secession," at www.worldbank.org/ogmc/files/Paul-Collier.pdf; Shain, Yossi: "The Role of Diasporas in Conflict Perpetuation or Resolution," *SAIS Review*, vol. 22, no. 2 (2002), pp. 115-144; idem & Ravinta P. Aryasinka: "Spoilers or Catalysts? The Role of Diasporas in Peace Processes," in Edward Newman & Oliver Richmond (eds.): *Challenges to Peacebuilding. Managing Spoilers during Conflict Resolution* (Tokyo: United Nations University Press, 2006); Brown, Gregory Scott: *Coping with Long-distance Nationalism: Inter-ethnic Conflict in a Diaspora Context*, unpublished doctoral dissertation for the University of Texas, Austin (2004), available at <http://dspace.lib.utexas.edu/bitstream/2152/411/1/browning58501.pdf>. On the specific problem of diaspora financing armed conflicts see Angoustures, Aline and Valerie Pascal: "Diasporas et financement des conflits," in François Jean & Jean-Christophe Rufin (eds.): *Économie des guerres civiles* (Paris: Hachette, 1996), pp. 495-542.
- 70 Zunzer, Wolfram: "Diaspora Communities and Civil Conflict Transformation," Berghof Occasional Paper, no. 26 (Berlin: Berghof Research Center for Constructive Conflict Management, 2004). On diasporas in general see Cohen, Robin: *Global Diasporas. An Introduction* (London: UCL Press, 1997); idem: "Diasporas and the Nation-State: From Victims to Challengers," *International Affairs*, vol. 72, no. 3 (1996), pp. 507-520; Edwards, Brent Hayes: "The Uses of Diaspora," *Social Text*, vol. 19, no. 1 (2001), pp. 45-73; Axel, Brian Keith: "The Context of Diaspora," *Cultural Anthropology*, vol. 19, no. 1 (2004), pp. 26-60; Clifford, James: "Diasporas," *ibid.*, vol. 9, no. 3 (1994), pp. 302-338; Dayal, Samir: "Diaspora and Double Consciousness," *Journal of the Midwest Modern Language Association*, vol. 29, no. 1 (1996), pp. 46-62; King, Charles & Neil J. Melvin: "Diaspora Politics: Ethnic Linkages, Foreign Policy, and Security in Eurasia," *International Security*, vol. 24, no. 3 (1999), pp. 108-138.
- 71 Tripodi, Paolo & Grady Belyeu: "Whatever Happens to Somalia ... Ignoring It Is No Longer an Option," *Low Intensity Conflict and Law Enforcement*, vol. 13, no. 3 (2005), pp. 212-226, especially pp. 213-214; Jost, Patrick M. & Harjit Singh Sandhu: "The Hawala Alternative Remittance System and Its Role in Money Laundering" (Interpol: 2006), at www.interpol.int/Public/FinancialCrime/MoneyLaundering/hawala/; Feldman, Robert: "Fund Transfers—African Terrorists Blend Old and New: Hawala and Satellite Communications," *Small Wars and Insurgencies*, vol. 17, no. 3 (2006), pp. 356-366; Ballard, Roger: "Coalitions of Reciprocity and the Maintenance of Financial Integrity within Informal Value Transmission Systems: The Operational Dynamics of Contemporary Hawala Networks," *Journal of Banking Regulation*, vol. 6, no. 4 (2005), pp. 319-352. On the importance of remittances transferred via the hawala system for a country like Somalia see Medani, Khalid M.: "Financing Terrorism or Survival? Informal Finance and State Collapse in Somalia, and the US War on Terrorism," *Middle East Report*, no. 223 (2002), pp. 2-9. See further Bantekas, Ilias: "The International Law of Terrorist Financing," *American Journal of International Law*, vol. 97, no. 2 (2003), pp. 315-333; Vlcek, William: "Acts to Combat the Financing of Terrorism: Common Foreign and Security Policy at the European Court of Justice," *European Foreign Affairs Review*, vol. 11, no. 4 (2006), pp. 491-507; FitzGerald, Valpy: "Global Financial Information, Compliance Incentives and Terrorist Funding," *European Journal of Political Economy*, vol. 20, no. 2 (2004), pp. 387-410; Croissant, Aurel & Daniel Barlow: "Following the Money Trail: Terrorist Financing and Government Responses in Southeast Asia," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, vol. 30, no. 2 (2007), pp. 131-156; Aidinli, Ersel: "From Finances to Transnational Mobility: Searching for the Global Jihadists' Achilles Heel," *Terrorism and Political Violence*, vol. 18, no. 2 (2006), pp. 301-313. On terrorist funding see Napoleoni, Loretta: *Terror Incorporated. Racing the Dollars behind the Terror Networks* (New York: Seven Stories Press, 2005), *passim*. See also Flanigan, Shawn Teresa: "Charity as Resistance: Connections between Charity, Contentious Politics, and Terrorism," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, vol. 29, no. 7 (2006), pp. 641-655. The Chinese term for the system, invented during the Tang Dynasty (AD 618-907) was *fei qian*, i.e. "flying money." See Wucker, Michele: "Remittances: The Perpetual Migration Machine," *World Policy Journal*, vol. pp. 37-46, especially p. 38; and Pickering, John: "The History of Paper Money in China," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. 1, no. 2 (1844), pp. 136-142, especially p. 138; Lieber, Alfred E.: "Eastern Business Practices and Medieval European Commerce," *Economic History Review*, vol. 21, no. 2 (1968), pp. 230-243, especially pp. 234-235. On the origins of the Islamic form, hawala, see Thung, Michael H.: "Written Obligations from the 2nd/8th to the 4th/10th Century," *Islamic Law and Society*, vol. 3, no. 1 (1996), pp. 1-12; Ray, Nicholas Dylan: "The Medieval Islamic System of Credit and Banking: Legal and Historical Considerations," *Arab Law Quarterly*, vol. 12, no. 1 (1997), pp. 43-90; Foster, Nicholas H. D.: "The Islamic Law of Real Security," *ibid.*, vol. 15, no. 2 (2000), pp. 131-15.
- 72 Omer, Abdusalam & Gina El Koury: "Regulation and Supervision in a Vacuum: the Story of the Somali RemittanceSector," *Small Enterprise Development*, vol. 15, no. 1 (2004), pp. 44-52.
- 73 Lewis, Ioan M.: *Blood and Bone. The Kall of Kinship in Somali Society* (Lawrenceville, NJ: Red Sea Press, 1994), pp.102-106; Mansur. Abdalla Omar: "The Nature of the Somali Clan System," in Ali Jimale Ahmed (ed.): *The Invention ofSomalia* (Lawrenceville, NJ: Red Sea Press, 1995), pp. 117-134; Mukhtar, Mohamed Haji: "Islam in Somali History: Fact and Fiction," *ibid.*, pp. 1-27; Kusow, Abdi M.: "The Somali Origin: Myth or Reality," *ibid.*, pp. 81-106; Luling Virginia: "Genealogy as Theory, Genealogy as Tool: Aspects of Somali 'Clanship'," *Social Identities*, vol. 12, no.

- 4(2006), pp. 471-485; Barnes, Cedric: "U dhashay—Ku dhashay: Genealogical and Territorial Discourse in Somali History," *ibid.*, pp. 487-498.
- 74 Adapted from Montclos, Marc-Antoine Pérouse de: "Interprétation d'un conflit. Le cas de la Somalie," *Travaux et documents*, no. 70 (Bordeaux: Centre d'étude d'Afrique Noire, 2001), p. 14. See also Lewis: *op. cit.* (note 73), *passim*; and Issa-Salwe: *op. cit.* (note 15), pp. 1-2; Brons, Maria H.: *Society, Security, Sovereignty and the State in Somalia. From Statelessness to Statelessness?* (Utrecht: International Books, 2001), pp. 18-19.
- 75 Brons: *op. cit.* (note 74), p. 15.
- 76 Farah, Ibrahim, Abdirashid Hussein & Jeremy Lind: "Deegan, Politics and War in Somalia," in Jeremy Lind & Katherine Sturman (eds.): *Scarcity and Surfeit. The Ecology of Africa's Conflicts* (Pretoria: Institute of Security Studies, 2002), pp. 321-356.
- 77 Compagnon: *loc. cit.* (note 65); Adam, Hussein M.: "Somalia: A Terrible Buty Being Born?," in I. William Zartman (ed.): *Collapsed States. The Disintegration and Restoration of Legitimate Authority* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1995), pp. 69-90.
- 78 Issa-Salwe: *op. cit.* (note 15), p. 5. See also Contini, Paolo: "The Evolution of Blood-Money for Homicide in Somalia," *Journal of African Law*, vol. 15, no. 1 (1971), pp. 77-84.
- 79 Laitin, David D.: "Somalia: Civil War and International Intervention," in Barbara F. Walter & Jack Snyder (eds.): *Civil Wars, Insecurity, and Intervention* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), pp. 146-1
- 80 Quote from p. 151. See also Simons, Anna: "Somalia: A Regional Security Dilemma," in Edmond J. Keller & Donald Rothchild (eds.): *Africa in the New World Order* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1996), pp. 71-84. On the security dilemma in international relations see Herz, John M.: *Political Realism and Political Idealism. A Study in Theories and Realities* (Chicago, IL: Chicago University Press, 1951), *passim*; *idem*: "Idealist Internationalism and the Security Dilemma," *World Politics*, vol. 2, no. 2 (1950), pp. 157-180; Jervis, Robert: "Cooperation under the Security Dilemma," *ibid.*, vol. 30, no. 2 (1978), pp. 167-214; Glaser, Charles L.: "The Security Dilemma Revisited," *ibid.*, vol. 50, no. 1 (1997), pp. 171-201; Buzan, Barry: *People, States and Fear. An Agenda for International Security Studies in the Post-Cold War Era*, 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1991), pp. 294-327; Collins, Alan: *The Security Dilemma and the End of the Cold War* (Edinburgh: Keele University Press, 1997). 80 Lewis: *op. cit.* (note 73), p. 144.
- 81 Issa-Salwe: *op. cit.* (note 15), pp. 70-75; Brons: *op. cit.* (note 74 pp. 169-171; Farer: *op. cit.* (note 25), pp. 91-92; Lewis: *op. cit.* 2002 (note 4), pp. 201-204.
- 82 Farer: *op. cit.* (note 25), pp. 108-109.
- 83 *Ibid.*, pp. 109-110; Brons: *op. cit.* (note 74 pp. 171-179. On the possible Soviet role in the coup see Payton, Gary D.: "The Somali Coup of 1969: The Case for Soviet Complicity," *Journal of Modern African Studies*, vol. 18, no. 3 (1980), pp. 493-508.
- 84 Sheik-Abdi, Abdi: "Ideology and Leadership in Somalia," *Journal of Modern African Studies*, vol. 19, no. 1 (1981), pp. 163-172; Laitin, David D.: "The Political Economy of Military Rule in Somalia," *ibid.*, vol. 14, no. 3 (1976), pp. 449-468; Lewis, I. M.: "The Politics of the 1969 Somali Coup," *ibid.*, vol. 10, no. 3 (1972), pp. 383-408; *idem*: *op. cit.* (note 4), pp. 205-225.
- 85 Laitin, David D.: "The War in the Ogaden: Implications for Siyaad's Role in Somali History," *Journal of Modern African Studies*, vol. 17, no. 1 (1979), pp. 95-115; Brons: *op. cit.* (note 74), pp. 202-215; Farer: *op. cit.* (note 25), p. 113.
- 86 Adam: *loc. cit.* (note 77), p. 71.
- 87 Lewis: *op. cit.* (note 73), p. 163.
- 88 Lewis, I.M.: "The Ogaden and the Fragility of Somali Segmentary Nationalism," in Nzongola-Ntalaja (ed.): *op. cit.* (note 3), pp. 89-96, especially pp. 92-93; *idem*: *op. cit.* (note 73), pp. 165-168; Adam: *loc. cit.* (note 77), p. 72; Brons: *op. cit.* (note 74), pp. 208-209.
- 89 Lewis: *op. cit.* (note 73), pp. 178-179, 223-224; Höhne, Markus V.: "Political Identity, Emerging State Structures and Conflict in Northern Somalia," *Journal of Modern African Studies*, vol. 44, no. 3 (2006), pp. 397-414. On Puntland see Doornbos, Martin: "When Is a State a State? Exploring Puntland," in Piet Konings, Wim van Binsbergen & Gerti Hesselings (eds.): *Trajectoires de libération en Afrique contemporaine* (Paris: Karthala, 2000), pp. 125-139. On Somaliland see Kibble, Steve: "Somaliland: Surviving without Recognition; Somalia: Recognized but Failing?" *International Relations*, vol. 15, no. 5 (2001), pp. 5-25; Farah, Ahmed Yusuf: "Roots of Reconciliation in Somaliland," in Luc Reuchler & Thania Paffenholz (eds.): *Peacebuilding. A Field Guide* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2001), pp. 138-144; Jhazbhay, Iqbal: "Somaliland: Africa's Best Kept Secret," *African Security Review*, vol. 12, no. 3 (2003), pp. 77-82; Huliaras, Asteris: "The Viability of Somaliland," *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, vol. 20, no. 2 (2002), pp. 157-182; Spears, Ian S.: "Reflections of Somaliland and Africa's Territorial Order," *Review of African Political Economy*, vol. 30, no. 95 (2003), pp. 89-98; International Crisis Group: "Somaliland: Democratisation and Its Discontents," *Africa Report*, no. 66 (Brussels: ICG, 2003); Abokor, Adan Yusuf, Steve Kibble, Mark Bradbury, Haroon Ahmed Yusuf & Georgina Barrett: *Further Steps to Democracy. The Somaliland Parliamentary Elections, September 2005* (London: Progressio, 2005); Bradbury, Mark, Adan Yusuf Abokor & Haroon Ahmed Yusuf: "Somaliland: Choosing Politics over Violence," *Review of African Political Economy*, vol. 30, no. 97 (2003), pp. 455-478.
- 90 Davies, Jack L.: "The Liberation Movements of Somalia" (1994), at www.civicwebs.com/cwvlib/africa/somalia/1994/lib_movments/lib_movements.htm Lewis: *op. cit.* (note 73), pp. 181-214; Brons: *op. cit.* (note 74), pp. 210-212; Sahnoun, Mohamed: *Somalia. The Missed Opportunities* (Washington, DC: United States Institute for Peace, 1994), pp. 6-8; Lyons, Terrence & Ahmed I. Samatar: *Somalia. State Collapse, Multilateral Intervention, and Strategies for Political Reconstruction* (Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, 1995), pp. 77-79; Adam: *loc. cit.* (note 77), p. 76-77.

- 91 Durch, William J.: "Introduction to Anarchy: Humanitarian Intervention and 'State-Building' in Somalia," in idem (ed.): *UN Peacekeeping, American Politics and the Uncivil Wars of the 1990s* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996), pp. 311-366, especially p. 318; Clark, Jeffrey: "Debate in Somalia: Failure of Collective Response," in Lori Fisler Damrosch (ed.): *Enforcing Restraint. Collective Intervention in International Conflicts* (New York: Council of Foreign Relations Press, 1994), pp. 205-240, especially pp. 212-213; Hippel, Karin von: *Democracy by Force. US Military Intervention in the Post-Cold War World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 68-70.
- 92 Africa Watch & Physicians for Human Rights: *No Mercy in Mogadishu. The Human Cost of the Conflict and the Struggle for Relief* (26 March 1992), at www.hrw.org/reports/1992/somalia. See also Sahnoun: op. cit. (note 90), p. 15; Sapir, Debarati G. & Hedwig Deconinck: "The Paradox of Humanitarian Assistance and Military Intervention in Somalia," in Thomas G. Weiss (ed.): *The United Nations and Civil Wars* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1995), pp. 151-172, especially pp. 156-163; De Waal, Alex: *Famine Crimes. Politics and the Disaster Relief Industry in Africa* (Oxford: James Currey, 1997), pp. 163-168; Blackley, Mike: "Somalia," in Michael E. Brown & Richard N. Rosecrance (eds.): *The Costs of Conflict. Prevention and Cure in the Global Arena* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 1999), pp. 75-90. See also Adam, Hussein: "Somali Civil Wars," in Taisler M. Ali & Robert O. Matthews (eds.): *Civil Wars in Africa. Roots and Resolution* (Montreal: McGill Queens University Press, 1999), pp. 169-192, especially pp. 178-181.
- 93 For a devastating critique see De Waal: op. cit. (note 92), pp. 168-178). See also Oliver, April: "The Somalia Syndrome," in Roderick K. von Lipsey (ed.): *Breaking the Cycle. A Framework for Conflict Intervention* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997), pp. 119-148, especially pp. 131-132; Clark: loc. cit. (note 91), pp. 212-214. On the general phenomenon see Macrae, Joanna & Anthony Zwi (eds.): *War and Hunger. Rethinking International Responses to Complex Emergencies* (London: Zed Books, 1994); Shearer, David: "Aiding or Abetting? Humanitarian Aid and Its Economic Role in Civil War," in Mats Berdal & David M. Malone (eds.): *Greed and Grievance. Economic Agendas in Civil Wars* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2000), pp. 189-204.
- 94 See Wheeler, Nicholas J.: *Saving Strangers. Humanitarian Intervention in International Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 172-207.
- 95 The term originally comes from Gramsci, Antonio: *Selections from the Prison Notebooks* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1971), pp. 323-377. See also Salamini, Leonardo: *The Sociology of Political Praxis. An Introduction to Gramsci's Theory* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1981), pp. 17, 79-80, 126-153. More recently it has been applied to international political economy and international relations. See, for instance, Kindleberger, Charles P.: "Dominance and Leadership in the International Economy. Exploitation, Public Goods, and Free Rides," *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 25, nr. 2 (1981), pp. 242-254; Gilpin, Robert: *The Political Economy of International Relations* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1987), pp. 72-92; idem: *Global Political Economy. Understanding the International Economic Order* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001), pp. 93-100; Russett, Bruce: "The Mysterious Case of Vanishing Hegemony; or, Is Mark Twain Really Dead?," *International Organization*, vol. 39, no. 2 (1985), pp. 207-231; Strange, Susan: "The Persistent Myth of Lost Hegemony," *ibid.*, vol. 41, no. 4 (1987), pp. 551-574; Keohane, Robert: "The Theory of Hegemonic Stability and Changes in International Regimes, 1967-1977," excerpted in C. Roe Goddard, John T. Passé-Smith & John G. Conklin (eds.): *International Political Economy. State-Market Relations in the Changing Global Order* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1996); idem: *After Hegemony* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984), *passim*; Lake, David A.: "British and American Hegemony Compared: Lessons for the Current Era of Decline," in Jeffrey A. Frieden & idem (eds.): *International Political Economy. Perspectives on Global Power and Wealth*. 3rd ed. (London: Routledge, 1995), pp. 120-133.
- 96 Quite a lot has been written about the successive UN and US interventions. See, for instance, Sahnoun: op. cit. (note 90), *passim*; idem: "Mixed Intervention in Somalia and the Great Lakes: Culture, Neutrality, and the Military," in Jonathan Moore (ed.): *Hard Choices. Moral Dilemmas in Humanitarian Intervention* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 1998), pp. 87-98; Hirsch, John L. & Robert B. Oakley: *Somalia and Operation Restore Hope. Reflections on Peacemaking and Peacekeeping* (Washington, D.C.: United States Institute for Peace Press, 1995); Lyons & Samatar: op. cit. (note 90), *passim*; Findlay, Trevor: *The Use of Force in Peace Operations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 142-148 and 166-218; Durch: loc. cit. (note 91); Clark: loc. cit. (note 91); Clarke, Bruce B.G.: "End-State Planning: The Somalia Case," in Max G. Manwaring & W. J. Olson (eds.): *Managing Contemporary Conflict. Pillars of Success* (Boulder: Westview, 1996), pp. 49-70; Hippel: op. cit. (note 91), pp. 55-91; Laitin: loc. cit. (note 79); Lalande, Serge: "Somalia: Major Issues for Future UN Peacekeeping," in Daniel Warner (ed.): *New Dimensions of Peacekeeping* (Dordrecht, the Netherlands: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 1995), pp. 69-99; Lewis, Ioan & James Mayall: "Somalia," in James Mayall (ed.): *The New Interventionism 1991-1994. United Nations Experience in Cambodia, former Yugoslavia and Somalia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 94-126; Sapir & Deconinck: loc. cit. (note 92); Daniel, Donald C.F. & Bradd C. Hayes with Chantal de Jonge Outaart: *Coercive Inducement and the Containment of International Crisis* (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1999), pp. 79-112; Wheeler: op. cit. (note 94), pp. 172-207; Jan, Amin: "Somalia: Building Sovereignty or Restoring Peace," in Elizabeth M. Cousens & Chetan Kumar (eds.): *Peacebuilding as Politics. Cultivating Peace in Fragile Societies* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2001), pp. 53-88; Shawcross, William: *Deliver Us from Evil. Warlords and Peacekeepers in a World of Endless Conflict* (London: Bloomsbury, 2000), pp. 65-103; Fishel, John T.: *Civil Military Operations in the New World* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1997), pp. 189-207; Heinrich, Wolfgang: *Building the Peace. Experiences of Collaborative Peacebuilding in Somalia 1993-1996* (Uppsala: Life and Peace Institute, 1998); Sahnoun: op. cit. (note 90), *passim*; Woodward, Peter: "Somalia," in Oliver Furley & Roy May (eds.): *Peacekeeping in Africa* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), pp. 143-158; Delaney, Douglas E.: "Cutting, Running, or Otherwise? The US Decision to Withdraw from Somalia," *Small Wars and Insurgencies*, vol. 15, no. 3

- (2004), pp. 28-46; Thakur, Ramesh: "From Peacekeeping to Peace Enforcement: The UN Operation in Somalia," *Journal of Modern African Studies*, vol. 32, no. 3 (1994), pp. 387-410.
- 97 On Manichaeism see the page on Manichaean Writings from the Gnostic Society Library at www.gnosis.org/library/manis.htm. The "Psalm CCXXXIII of the Manichaean Bema Psalms" contains a phrase summing up this worldview: "When the Holy Spirit came he revealed to us the way of Truth and taught us that there are two Natures, that of Light and that of Darkness, separate one from the other from the beginning" (www.gnosis.org/library/bc23.htm).
- 98 Lyons and Samatar: op. cit. (note 90), pp. 44-47, 49-57.
- 99 On spoilers in general see Stedman, Stephen John: "Spoiler Problems in Peace Processes," *International Security*, vol. 22, no. 2 (1997), pp. 5-53; Newman & Richmond (eds.): op. cit. (note 69), passim.
- 100 Hirsch & Oakley: op. cit. (note 96), pp. 117-118; Peterson, Scott: *Me Against My Brother. At War in Somalia, Sudan, and Rwanda* (London: Routledge, 2001), pp. 72-73; Lewis & Mayall: loc. cit. (note 96), pp. 116-121; Durch: loc. cit. (note 91), pp. 339-348.
- 101 See Peterson: op. cit. (note 100), pp. 76-79 for details about the scarcity and dubious quality of the evidence. 102 Wheeler: op. cit. (note 94), p. 195.
- 103 Adam: loc. cit. (note 77), p. 85; Hirsch & Oakley: op. cit. (note 96), pp. 120.
- 104 Hirsch & Oakley: op. cit. (note 96), p. 150.
- 105 Findlay: op. cit. (note 96), p. 197; Adam: loc. cit. (note 77), p. 85; Lyons and Samatar: op. cit. (note 90), p. 58; Hirsch & Oakley: op. cit. (note 96), p. 121; Peterson: op. cit. (note 100), pp. 83-92, 117-135. The latter author refers to the attack as "murder on a grand scale. It was a war crime, pure and simple" (p. 127).
- 106 Hirsch & Oakley: op. cit. (note 96), pp. 124-125; Lewis & Mayall: loc. cit. (note 96), p. 111; Shawcross: op. cit. (note 96), p. 66.
- 107 Findlay: op. cit. (note 96), p. 199; Hirsch & Oakley: op. cit. (note 96), pp. 119-120.
- 108 Findlay: op. cit. (note 96), p. 200-202; Lyons and Samatar: op. cit. (note 90), p. 59; Hirsch & Oakley: op. cit. (note 96), p. 127; Peterson: op. cit. (note 100), pp. 137-155.
- 109 Findlay: op. cit. (note 96), p. 201-204; Hirsch & Oakley: op. cit. (note 96), pp. 128-129.
- 110 Ibid., pp. 143-144.
- 111 Findlay: op. cit. (note 96), pp. 203-204.
- 112 Osama bin Laden thus in his "Declaration of Jihad against the Americans Occupying the Land of the Two Holy Places," issued 23 August 1996, referred to "the October 1993 victory." See Kepel, Gilles: *Jihad. The Trail of Political Islam* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of the Harvard University Press, 2002), pp. 317-319. For a claim, based exclusively on the CIA, that AQ was directly involved see Gunaratna, Rohan: *Inside Al Qaeda. Global Network of Terror* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 2003), pp. 206-207; or Williams, Paul L.: *Al Qaeda. Brotherhood of Terror* (New York: Alpha Books, 2002), pp. 83-84. For a more sceptical analysis see Burke, Jason: *Al Qaeda. The True History of Radical Islam* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 2004), pp. 148-149.
- 113 The 9/11 Commission Report. Final Report of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., p. 60. See also Harmony Project: op. cit. (note 50), passim.
- 114 Jan: loc. cit. (note 96); Lortan, Fiona: "Africa Watch. Rebuilding the Somali State," *African Security Review*, vol. 9, no.5/6 (Pretoria: Institute for Security Studies, 2000), pp. 94-103.
- 115 Anonymous: "Government Recognition in Somalia and Regional Political Stability in the Horn of Africa," *Journal of Modern African Studies*, vol. 49, no. 2 (2002), pp. 247-272, especially pp. 252-254; Streleau, Susanne & S'Fiso Ngesi: "Somalia: Beginning the Journey from Anarchy to Order," in Erik Doxtader & Charles Villa-Vicencio (eds.): *Through Fire with Water. The Roots of Division and the Potential for Reconciliation in Africa* (Cape Town: David Philips Publishers, 2003), pp. 154-185, especially pp. 155-156; ICG: "Somalia: Countering Terrorism in a Failed State," *Africa Report*, no. 45 (Brussels: International Crisis Group, 2002), pp. 5-7; Doornbos, Martin: "Somalia: Alternative Scenarios for Political Reconstruction," *African Affairs*, no. 101 (2002), pp. 93-107; International Crisis Group: "A Blueprint for Peace in Somalia," *ICG Africa Report*, no. 59 (2003), p. 3.
- 116 Anonymous: loc. cit. 2002 (note 115), p. 253-254. On UN recognition see the presidential statement S/PRST/2001/30.
- 117 ICG: "Countering Terrorism" (op. cit. note 115); Dagne, T.: "Africa and the War on Terrorism: The Case of Somalia," *Mediterranean Quarterly*, vol. 13, no. 4 (2002), pp. 62-73; Menkhaus, Ken: "Political Islam in Somalia," *Middle East Policy*, vol. 9, no. 1 (2002), pp. 109-123.
- 118 Ibid., p. 18.
- 119 Menkhaus: loc. cit. (note 117) p. 121.
- 120 International Crisis Group: "Salvaging Somalia's Chance for Peace," *Africa Briefing*, 9 December 2002 (Brussels: ICG), passim; ICG: "A Blueprint for Peace in Somalia" (op. cit., note 115), passim.
- 121 Ibid., p. 1.
- 122 International Crisis Group: "Biting the Somali Bullit," *Africa Reports*, no. 79 (Brussels: ICG, 2004); idem: "Somalia: Continuation of War by Other Means," *ibid.*, no. 88 (2004).
- 123 "Somalia: Ethiopian Troops Roll In," *Africa Research Bulletin. Political, Social and Cultural Series*, vol. 43, no. 7 (2006), pp. 16723-16725; IRIN: "Somalia: Bid to Avert All-Out War," *IRIN News*, 13 December 2006; idem: "Somalia: Dozens Killed as Fighting Continues in the South," *ibid.*, 22 December 2006.
- 124 It was instituted with UNSCR 733 of 23 January 1992, under Chapter VII of the UN Charter. Paragraph 5 called on all states to "immediately implement a general and complete embargo on all deliveries of weapons and military equipment to Somalia until the Council decides otherwise." While certain exemption from the embargo were decided in UNSCR paragraphs 6-7, the same resolution explicitly maintained (para 10) that the embargo as such remains in force.

- 125 Brons: op. cit. (note 74), pp. 267-279; International Crisis Group: op. cit. 2003 (note 115), p. 3; Doornbos: loc. cit. (note 115), pp. 100-104. On the dispute with Somaliland see "Somalia. Somaliland-Puntland Disputed Area," *Africa Research Bulletin. Political, Social and Cultural Series*, vol. 40, no. 12 (2004), pp. 15576-15577. See also note 89 above.
- 126 Menkhaus, Ken: "Traditional Conflict Management in Contemporary Somalia," in I. William Zartman (ed.): *Traditional Cures for Modern Conflicts. African Conflict "Medicine"* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2000), pp. 183-199; idem: "Local Security Systems in Somali East Africa," in Louise Andersen, Bjørn Møller & Finn Stepputat (eds.): *Fragile States and Insecure People? Violence, Security, and Statehood in the Twenty-First Century* (Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2007), pp. 67-97, especially p. 80; idem: "Governance without Government in Somalia: Spoilers, State Building, and the Politics of Coping," *International Security*, vol. 31, no. 3 (2006), pp. 74-106. On the diya-payment system and the agnatic groups upon which it rests see also Lewis: op. cit. (note 73), pp. 19-23; Mansur: loc. cit. (note 73); Contini: loc. cit. (note 78); Gundel, Joakim with Ahmed A. Omar Dharbaxo: *The Predicament of the "Oday." The Role of Traditional Structures in Security, Rights, Law and Development in Somalia* (Nairobi: Danish Refugee Council, 2006). See also Besteman, Catherine: "Representing Violence and 'Othering' Somalia," *Cultural Anthropology*, vol. 11, no. 1 (1996), pp. 120-133; idem: "Violent Politics and the Politics of Violence: The Dissolution of the Somali Nation-State," *American Ethnologist*, vol. 23, no. 3 (1996), pp. 579-596. Both articles gave rise to an academic controversy. See Lewis, I. M.: "Doing Violence to Ethnography: A Response to Catherine Besteman's 'Representing Violence and 'Othering' Somalia,'" *Cultural Anthropology*, vol. 13, no. 1 (1998), pp. 100-108; Besteman, Catherine: "Primordialist Blindness: A Reply to I. M. Lewis," *ibid.*, pp. 109-120; Helander, Bernhard: "The Emperor's New Clothes Removed: A Critique of Besteman's 'Violent Politics and the Politics of Violence,'" *American Ethnologist*, vol. 25, no. 3 (1998), pp. 489-491; Besteman, Catherine: "A Response to Helander's Critique of 'Violent Politics and the Politics of Violence,'" *ibid.*, vol. 26, no. 4 (1999), pp. 981-983.
- 127 See, for instance, Webersik, Christian: "Differences that Matter: The Struggle of the Marginalised in Somalia," *Africa*, vol. 74, no. 4 (2004), pp. 516-533; Besteman, Catherine: *Unraveling Somalia. Race, Violence, and the Legacy of Slavery* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999).
- 128 Chabal, Patrick & Jean-Pascal Daloz: *Africa Works. Disorder as a Political Instrument* (Oxford: James Currey, 1999). 129 Easton, David: *The Political System: An Inquiry into the State of Political Science* (New York: Knopf, 1953).
129. See also Mitchell, W.C.: "Politics as the Allocation of Values: a Critique," *Ethics*, vol. 71 (1974), pp. 79-89; Sorzano, J.S.: "Values in Political Science: The Concept of Allocation," *The Journal of Politics*, vol. 39, no. 1 (1977), pp. 24-40.
- 130 Smith, Adam: *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (1776), available online at www.adamsmith.org/smith/. On the "Washington Consensus" see Willmsen, John: "What Should the World Bank Think about the Washington Consensus?" *World Bank Research Observer*, vol. 18, no. 2 (2000), pp. 251-264; Cotton, Linda & Vijaya Ramachandran: "Governance and the Private Sector in Africa," in Nicolas Van De Walle, Nicole Ball & Vijaya Ramachandran (eds.): *Beyond Structural Adjustment. The Institutional Context of African Development* (Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), pp. 213-239.
- 131 Brons: op. cit. (note 74), pp. 76-89.
- 132 Sage, Andre Le & Nisar Majid: "The Livelihoods Gap: Responding to the Economic Dynamics of Vulnerability in Somalia," *Disasters*, vol. 26, no. 1 (2002), pp. 10-27, especially p. 17.
- 133 Jan: loc. cit. (note 96), pp. 72-75.
- 134 Mubarak, Jamil A.: "The 'Hidden Hand' Behind the Resilience of the Stateless Economy of Somalia," *World Development*, vol. 25, no. 12 (1997), pp. 2027-2041, especially p. 2028. See also Nenova, Tatiana & Tim Harford: "Anarchy and Invention. How Does Somalia's Private Sector Cope without Government?" Note, no. 280 (Washington, DC: Public Policy for the Private Sector, World Bank, 2004).
- 135 Bradbury, Mark, Ken Menkhaus and Roland Marchal: *Somalia. Human Development Report 2001* (Nairobi: UNDP, Somalia Country Office 2001), pp. 139-158; Little, Peter D.: *Somalia: Economy without State* (Oxford: James Currey, 2003), passim; Mubarak: loc. cit. 1997 (note 134); idem "A Case of Private Supply of Money in Stateless Somalia," *Journal of African Economies*, vol. 11, no. 3 (2003), pp. 309-325.
- 136 See above, note 71. See also Gundel: loc. cit. (note 68).
- 137 Little: op. cit. (note 135), p. 132.
- 138 See, for instance, Grosse-Kettler, Sabrina: "External Actors in Stateless Somalia. A War Economy and Its Promoters," Paper, no. 39 (Bonn: Bonn International Center for Conversion, 2004); Webersik, Christian: "Mogadishu: an Economy without a State," *Third World Quarterly*, vol. 27, no. 8 (2006), pp. 1463-1480; idem: "Fighting for the Plenty: The Banana Trade in Southern Somalia," *Oxford Development Studies*, vol. 33, no. 1 (2005), pp. 81-97. On the general phenomenon of war economies see Keen, David: "The Economic Functions of Violence in Civil Wars," *Adelphi Papers*, no. 320 (1998); Berdal, Mats & idem: "Violence and Economic Agendas in Civil Wars: Some Policy Implications," *Millennium*, vol. 26, no. 3 (1997), pp. 795-818; idem: "Incentives and Disincentives for Violence," in Mats Berdal & David Malone (eds.): *Greed and Grievance. Economic Agendas in Civil Wars* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2000), pp. 19-41; Reno, William: "Shadow States and the Political Economy of Civil Wars," *ibid.*, pp. 43-68; idem: *Warlord Politics and African States* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1998), passim.
- 139 Pouwels, Randall L.: "Eastern Africa and the Indian Ocean to 1800: Reviewing Relations in Historical Perspective," *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, vol. 35, no. 2-3 (2002), pp. 385-425; idem: "The East African Coast, c. 780 to 1900 C.E.," in Levzion & idem (eds.): op. cit. (note 56), pp. 251-272; Pearson, M.N.: "The Indian Ocean and the Red Sea," *ibid.*, pp. 37-59; Gilbert, Erik & Jonathan T. Reynolds: *Africa in World History. From Prehistory to the Present* (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Education, 2004), pp. 99-116; Iliffe, John: *Africans. The*

- History of a Continent (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 53-55; Oliver, Roland & Anthony Atmore: *Medieval Africa, 1250-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 195-199.
- 140 See, for instance, Fisher, Humphrey J.: "The Juggernaut's Apologia: Conversion to Islam in Black Africa," *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute*, vol. 55, no. 2 (1985), pp. 153-173; Vikør: loc. cit. (note 57). 141 Ehret, Christopher: *The Civilizations of Africa. A History to 1800* (Oxford: James Currey, 2002), pp. 384-385; Rees, Scott S.: "Urban Woes and Pious Remedies: Sufism in Nineteenth-Century Benaadir (Somalia)," *Africa Today*, vol. 46, no. 3-4 (1999), pp. 169-192.
- 142 Lewis, I.M.: "Sufism in Somaliland: A Study in Tribal Islam," parts I and II, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, vol. 17, no. 3 (1955), pp. 581-602, and *ibid.*, vol. 18, no. 1 (1956), pp. 145-160. 143 Haynes, Jett: "Religion and Democratization in Africa," *Democratization*, vol. 11, no. 4 (2004), pp. 66-89.
- 144 Menkhaus: loc. cit. (note 117);. See also *idem*: "Somalia and Somaliland: Terrorism, Political Islam, and State Collapse," in Rotberg (ed.): op. cit. (note 50), pp. 23-47.
- 145 Adam, Hussein M.: "Islam and Politics in Somalia," *Journal of Islamic Studies*, vol. 6, no. 2 (1995), pp. 189-221.
- 146 Marchal, Roland: "Islamic Political Dynamics in the Somali Civil War," in De Waal (ed.): op. cit. (note 29), pp. 114-145, especially pp. 119. On Sayyid Qutb see Brown, L. Carl: *Religion and State: The Muslim Approach to Politics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), pp. 153-159; Armstrong, Karen: *The Battle for God. Fundamentalism in Judaism, Christianity and Islam* (London: Harper Perennial, 2004), pp. 239-244, 290-294; Mitchell, Richard Paul: *The Society of the Muslim Brothers* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), pp. 239-245; Akhavi, Shahrough: "The Dialectic in Contemporary Egyptian Social Thought: The Scripturalist and Modernist Discourses of Sayyid Qutb and Hasan Hanafi," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, vol. 29, no. 3 (1997), pp. 377-401; Kiener, Ronald C.: "Gushist and Qutbian Approaches to Government: A Comparative Analysis of Religious Assassination," *Numen*, vol. 44, no. 3 (1997), pp. 229-241; Khatab, Sayed: "Arabism and Islamism in Sayyid Qutb's Thought on Nationalism," *Muslim World*, vol. 94, no. 2 (2004), pp. 217-244; Nettler, Ronald L.: "Guidelines for the Islamic Community: Sayyid Qutb's Political Interpretation of the Qur'an," *Journal of Political Ideologies*, vol. 1, no. 2 (1996), pp. 183-197. On Mawdudi see Bennett, Clinton: *Muslims and Modernity. An Introduction to the Issues and Debates* (London. Continuum, 2005), pp. 49-53 & *passim*; Armstrong: op. cit., pp. 236-239.
- 147 Marchal: loc. cit. (note 146), pp. 124-132.
- 148 Tadesse: op. cit (note 67), *passim*; ICG: "Countering Terrorism in a Failed State," (op. cit., note 115), pp. 15-19; Menkhaus, Ken: "Somalia; State Collapse and the Threat of Terrorism," *Adelphi Papers*, vol. 364, no. 1 (2004), pp. 55-71. On the Muslim Brotherhood, al-Ikhwan, see also Mitchell: op. cit. (note 146), *passim*; Servold, Gary M.: "The Muslim Brotherhood and Islamic Radicalism," in Barry R. Schneider & Jerrold M. Post (eds.): *Know Thy Enemy: Profiles of Adversary Leaders and their Strategic Cultures*, 2nd ed. (CPC Books, United States Airforce Counterproliferation Center, 2003), pp. 41-83; Huband, Mark: *Warriors of the Prophet. The Struggle for Islam* (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1999), pp. 81-86 & *passim*; International Crisis Group: "Understanding Islamism," *Middle East/North Africa Report*, no. 37 (Brussels: ICG, 2005). On its ideological foundations see Whine, Michael: "Islamism and Totalitarianism: Similarities and Differences," *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions*, vol. 2, no. 2(2001), pp. 54-72; Volpi, Frederic: "Understanding the Rationale of the Islamic Fundamentalists' Political Strategies: A Pragmatic Reading of their Conceptual Schemes during the Modern Era," *ibid.*, vol. 1, no. 3 (2000), pp. 72-96.
- 149 Menkhaus: loc. cit. 2002 (note 144), pp. 118-119. For a contrary assessment see US State Department: *Patterns of Global Terrorism 2002* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 2002), pp. 4, 6, 127-128 and 151; Sage, Andre Le: "Prospects for Al Itihad & Islamist Radicalism in Somalia," *Review of African Political Economy*, vol. 28, no. 89 (2001), pp. 472-477. The previously cited report by the Harmony Project (op. cit., note 50) seems to present strong evidence to the existence of some links, but very tenuous and strained ones which fell far short of an alliance.
- 150 See the entry "Al-Ittihaad Al-Islami (AIAI)," at <http://tkb.org/Group.jsp?groupID=4329> (accessed 16 July 2007). The database only covers international incidents for the period 1967-97, but also domestic incidents since 1998.
- 151 Tadesse: op. cit. (note 67), pp. 48-74, 81-89, 92-93; Jan: loc. cit. (note 96), pp. 56-57.
- 152 See, for instance, International Crisis Group: "Somalia's Islamists," *Africa Report*, no. 100 (2005), pp. 3-11.
- 153 "Report of the Monitoring Group on Somalia pursuant to Security Council resolution 1558 (2004)," *UN Documents*, no. S/2005/153, pp. 10-11.
- 154 International Crisis Group: "Counter-terrorism in Somalia: Losing the Hearts and Minds," *Africa Report*, no. 95 (Brussels: ICG, 2005), pp. 5-10; *idem*: op. cit. (note 152), pp. 3 and 10-11.
- 155 Menkhaus, Ken: "The Crisis in Somalia: Tragedy in Five Acts," *African Affairs*, vol. 100, no. 204 (2007), pp. 357390, quote from p. 359.
- 156 *Ibid.*, pp. 365-367; International Crisis Group: "Can the Somali Crisis Be Contained?" *Africa Reports*, 116. Brussels: ICG, 2006), pp. 5-6.
- 157 Prendergast, John & Colin Thomas-Jensen: "Blowing the Horn," *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 86, no. 2 (2007), pp. 59-74, quote from p. 59. See also "Mission Mogadishu," *Africa Confidential*, vol. 47, no. 18 (2006), p. 2; International Crisis Group: loc. cit. (note 156); Prunier, Gerard: "A World of Conflict Since 9/11: The CIA Coup in Somalia," *Review of African Political Economy*, vol. 33, no. 110 (2006), pp. 737-772; McGregor, Andrew: "Warlords or Counter-Terrorists: U.S. Intervention in Somalia," *Terrorism Focus*, vol. 3, no. 21 (2006); Tomlinson, Chris: "Official: U.S. Backing Somali Militants," *Associated Press*, 9 April 2006; "Somali Warlords Hold 'Secret Anti-Terrorism' Talks with US Agents: Witnesses," *Agence France Presse*, 28 February 2006.
- 158 McGregor: loc. cit. (note 157).
- 159 See Chapter 2: "Africa Overview," in *Country Reports on Terrorism 2006* (op. cit., note 49), internet version at www.state.gov/s/ct/rls/crt/2006/82730.htm

- 160 US Treasury, Office of Foreign Assets Control: "Alphabetical Listing of Specially Designated Nationals and Blocked Persons," at www.treasury.gov/offices/enforcement/ofac/sdn/sdnlist.txt, accessed 2 July 2007
- 161 See <http://tkb.org/Group.jsp?groupID=4329>, and <http://tkb.org/FTO.jsp>, both accessed 2 July 2007.
- 162 Security Council Committee Established Pursuant to Paragraph 6 of Resolution 1267: "The Consolidated List Established and Maintained by the 1267 Committee with Respect to Al-Qaida, Usama Bin Laden, and the Taliban and Other Individuals, Groups, Undertakings and Entities Associated with Them," at www.un.org/sc/committees/1267/pdf/pdflist.pdf, accessed 2 July, 2007.
- 163 Council of the European Union: "EU Terrorist List—Adoption of a New Consolidated List," EU Documents, no. 11309/07, at <http://consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cmsUpload/st11309en07.pdf>; and "Décision du Conseil du 28 juin 2007 mettant en oeuvre l'article 2, paragraphe 3, du règlement (CE) no 2580/2001 concernant l'adoption de mesures restrictives spécifiques à l'encontre de certaines personnes et entités dans le cadre de la lutte contre le terrorisme, et abrogeant les décisions 2006/379/CE et 2006/1008/CE," with the annex: "Liste des personnes, groupes et entités visée à l'article 1er," Journal Officiel de l'Union européenne, L 169, pp. 60-62 (29 June 2007).
- 164 The following is mainly based on Prunier: loc. cit. (note 157); International Crisis Group: op. cit. (note 152); idem: op. cit. (note 154); idem: op. cit. (note 156); Bryden, Matt: "Profile of the Council of Somali Islamic Courts," unpublished manuscript, dated 24 October 2006; idem: "Can Somalia Salvage Itself?" Current History, vol. 105, no. 691 (2006), pp. 225-228; Menkhaus, Kenneth J.: "The Somali Catastrophe: Bigger than the Horn—and Not Over Yet," *ibid.*, vol. 106, no. 700 (2007), pp. 195-201; idem: "Governance without Government in Somalia" (loc. cit., note 126); idem: "Local Security Systems in Somali East Africa," (loc. cit., note 126); idem: loc. cit. (note 155); Barnes, Cedric & Harun Hassan: "The Rise and Fall of Mogadishu's Islamic Courts," Briefing Paper, no. AFP BP 07/02 (London: Chatham House, 2007); Stevenson, Jonathan: "Risks and Opportunities in Somalia," *Survival*, vol. 49, no. 2 (2007), pp. 5-20.
- 165 Illustrations of the confusion are two recent articles filled with obvious mistakes: Mushtaq, Najum: "Somalia: Divide and Conquer," *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, vol. 63, no. 1 (2007), pp. 17-19; and Shank, Michael: "Understanding Political Islam in Somalia," *Contemporary Islam*, vol. 1, no. 1 (2007), pp. 89-103.
- 166 Prunier: loc. cit. 2006 (note 157), p. 750.
- 167 International Crisis Group: op. cit. 2005 (note 152), pp. 20-21
- 168 IRIN: "Somalia: 'We Are More Secure—Mogadishu Residents'," IRIN News, 13 June 2006; idem: "Somalia: Calm in the Midst of Hardship," *ibid.*, 28 June 2006; idem: "Somalia: Islamic Militias Remove Mogadishu Roadbloks," *ibid.*, 29 June 2006; idem: "Somalia: First Commercial Flight in 11 Years," *ibid.*, 31 July 2006; idem: "Somalia: Mogadishu Port Re-Opens after 11 Years," *ibid.*, 24 August 2006; idem: "Somalia: UIC Disarms Militia, Tightens Control over Kismayo," *ibid.*, 28 September 2006; idem: "Somalia: Former Militia Find New Purpose," *ibid.*, 17 October; idem: "Somalia: Opening Mogadishu Port," *ibid.*, 30 October 2006; idem: "Businessmen to Hand over Weapons," *ibid.*, 28 November 2006; West, Sunguta: "Mogadishu's Ports to Provide Significant Funding for Somalia's Islamists," *Terrorism Focus*, vol. 3, no. 28 (2006).
- 169 IRIN: "Somalia: Islamic Courts Ban Trade in Charcoal and Wildlife," IRIN News, 23 August 2006.
- 170 IRIN: "Somalia: One Killed in Demonstrations over Khat Supplies," IRIN News, 16 November 2006.
- 171 IRIN: "Somalia: UIC Shuts Down Radio Station and Arrest Journalists," IRIN News, 29 September 2006; idem: "Somalia: Mogadishu Radio Station Shut Down," *ibid.*, 16 October 2006.
- 172 IRIN: "Somalia: A Question of Balance," IRIN News, 20 November 2006. The statement came from the Chief of Security for Mogadishu, Sheikh Adbullahi Mo'alim Akli.
- 173 IRIN: "Somalia: Gov't, Islamic Courts Agree to Recognise Each Other," IRIN News, 23 June 2006; idem "Somalia: Gov't Boycotts Peace Talks with Islamic Group," *ibid.* 17 July 2006; idem: "Somalia: TFG Welcomes Dialogue," *ibid.*, 18 July 2006; idem: "Somalia: Transitional Gov't, Islamic Courts Agree to Talks," *ibid.*, 15 August 2006; idem: "Somalia: Talks between Gov't, Islamic Group Under Way," *ibid.*, 4 September 2006; *ibid.*: "Somalia: Islamic Courts Warn of Possible Renewal of War," *ibid.*, 9 October 2006; idem: "Somalia: War of Words over Islamic Courts' Role," *ibid.*, 20 October 2006; idem: "Somalia: Gov't, Islamic Courts to Meet Amid Increasing Animosity," *ibid.*, 27 October 2006; idem: "Somalia: Hardline Positions Delay Talks Between Rivals," *ibid.*, 1 November 2006; idem: "Somalia: Mediators Halt Talks Between Interim Gov't and Islamic Group," *ibid.*, 2 November 2006; idem: "Somalia: Govt Rejects Outcome of Speaker's Talks with Islamic Courts," *ibid.*, 13 November 2006;
- 174 IRIN: "Somalia: Unified Armed Forces Seen as Key to Peace," IRIN News, 5 September 2006.
- 175 IRIN: "Somalia: Parliament Votes in Favour of Foreign Peacekeepers," IRIN News, 15 June 2006; idem: "Islamic Courts Oppose Proposed AU Force," *ibid.*, 20 June 2006.
- 176 West, Sunguta: "Somalia's ICU Declares Holy War on Ethiopia," *Terrorism Focus*, vol. 3, no. 40 (2006); "Somalia: SCIC Declares War on Ethiopia," *African Research Bulletin. Political, Social and Cultural Series*, vol. 43, no. 10 (2006), pp. 16834-16836.
- 177 Kyama, Reuben: "Ethnic Somalis Threaten to Destabilize Ethiopia," *Terrorism Focus*, vol. 3, no. 46 (2006); McGregor, Andrew: "Somali Hostilities Threaten Outbreak of Regional War," *ibid.*, vol. 3, no. 42 (2006).
- 178 Abbink, Jon: "Ethiopia-Eritrea: Proxy Wars and the Prospects of Peace in the Horn of Africa," *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, vol. 21, no. 3 (2003), pp. 407-425; "Somalia: Rhetoric and Threats," *Africa Research Bulletin. Political, Social and Cultural Series*, vol. 43, no. 8 (2006), pp. 16760-16762. On the Ethiopian-Eritrean war see Negash, Tekeste & Kjetil Tronvoll: *Brothers at War. Making Sense of the Eritrean-Ethiopian War* (Oxford: James Currey, 2000); Fessehazion, Tekie: *Shattered Illusion, Broken Promise. Essays on the Eritrea-Ethiopia Conflict (1998-2000)* (Lawrenceville, NJ: Red Sea Press, 2002).

- 179 IRIN: "Somalia: Who's Who in the Islamic Courts," IRIN News, 26 June 2006; Nzwill, Fredrick: "Leadership Profile: Somalia's Islamic Courts Union," *Terrorism Focus*, vol. 3, no. 2 (2006); Boukhars, Anouar: "Understanding Somali Islamism," *ibid.*, vol. 4, no. 10 (2006); West, Sunguta: "Somalia's ICU and Its Roots in al-Ittihad al-Islami," *ibid.*, vol. 4, no. 15 (2006); *idem*: "Hardline Islamist Militia Group Shabbab Emerges in Somalia," *ibid.*, vol. 3, no. 31 (2006); *idem*: "New Moderate Leader in Somalia's UCU Gains Prominence," *ibid.*, no. 36.
- 180 On the Taliban see Nojumi, Neamatollah: *The Rise of the Taliban in Afghanistan. Mass Mobilization, Civil War, and the Future of the Region* (New York: Palgrave, 2002); Rashid, Ahmed: *Taliban. Militant Islam, Oil and Fundamentalism in Central Asia* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001); Magnus, Ralph H.: "Afghanistan in 1996: Year of the Taliban," *Asian Survey*, vol. 37, no. 2 (1997), pp. 111-117.
- 181 "Somalia: Ethiopia's Preemptive Strike," *African Research Bulletin. Political, Social and Cultural Series*, vol. 43, no. 12 (2006), pp. 16883-16885.
- 182 IRIN: "Somalia: Mogadishu Residents Back to Living in Constant Danger," IRIN News, 15 February 2007; *idem*: "Somalia: Violence Out of Control, Say Mogadishu Residents," *ibid.*, 19 February 2007; *idem*: "Somalia: IDP Camp Hit in Attack on Presidential Palace," *ibid.*, 14 March 2007; Human Rights Watch: "Somalia: End Indiscriminate Attacks in Mogadishu," *Human Rights News*, 6 April 2007, at hrw.org/english/docs/2007/04/05/somali15666.htm; "Report of the Secretary-General on the Situation in Somalia Pursuant to Paragraphs 3 and 9 of Security Council Resolution 1744 (2007)," UN Documents, no. S/2007/204, pp. 5-6. On child soldiers see IRIN: "Somalia: Protect Children from Conscription, Say Aid Agencies," IRIN News, 2 January 2007; *idem*: "Somalia: Government Calls for Assistance to Rehabilitate Child Soldiers," *ibid.*, 2 February, 2007. See also "Report of the Secretary-General on Children and Armed Conflict in Somalia," UN Documents, no. S/2007/259.
- 183 "Somalia: TFG Takes Control," *African Research Bulletin. Political, Social and Cultural Series*, vol. 44, no. 1 (2007), pp. 16944-16947; "New Strikes on al-Qaeda in Somalia," MSNBC News, 9 January 2007, at www.msnbc.msn.com/id/16531987/; "'Al-Qaeda' Arrest in East Africa," BBC News, 6 July 2007. On the legal status of the Guantanamo detention camp see Marguiles, Joseph: "A Prison Beyond the Law," *Virginia Quarterly Review*, vol. 80, no. 4 (2004), pp. 37-55.
- 184 Noted with a critical comment in "Report of the Secretary-General on the Situation in Somalia," UN Documents, no. S/2007/381 (25 June 2007), p. 15.
- 185 For a summary of the humanitarian assistance in the spring of 2007 see OCHA: "Somalia: Humanitarian Response to Mogadishu Displacements (IDPs)," at <http://ochaonline2.un.org/LinkClick.aspx?link=ocha&docid=1023453>.
- 186 Abbink, Jon: "An Historical-Anthropological Approach to Islam in Ethiopia: Issues of Identity and Politics," *Journal of African Cultural Studies*, vol. 11, no. 2 (1998), pp. 109-124.
- 187 International Crisis Group: "Somalia: The Tough Part is Ahead," *Africa Briefing*, no. 45 (Brussels: ICG, 2007), pp. 4-6. On the Ogaden see above, notes 85, 88 and 172. On the OLF and Ethiopia's "Oromo problem" see Kapteijns: *loc. cit.* (note 57); Hassen, Mohammed: *The Oromi of Ethiopia: a History, 1570-1860* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 133-161; Zewde, Bahru: *A History of Modern Ethiopia, 1855-1991* (Oxford: James Currey, 2001), pp. 16, 48-49; Jalata, Asafa: *Fighting against the Injustice of the State and Globalisation* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), pp. 55-88; Lata, Leenco: *Structuring the Horn of Africa as a Common Homeland: The State and Self-Determination in the Era of Heightened Globalisation* (Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfried Laurier University Press, 2004), pp. 1-3, 150-151 & *passim*; Hultin, J.T.: "Social Structure, Ideology and Expansion: The Case of the Oromo in Ethiopia," *Ethos*, vol. 40 (1975), pp. 273-284; Baxter, P. T. W.: "Ethiopia's Unacknowledged Problem: The Oromo," *African Affairs*, vol. 77, no. 308 (1978), pp. 283-296; Abbink: *loc. cit.* (note 186); Gnamo, Abbas Haji: "Islam, the Orthodox Church and Oromo Nationalism (Ethiopia)," *Cahiers d'Etudes Africaines*, no. 165 (2002); Shinn, David H.: "Ethiopia: Coping with Islamic Fundamentalism before and after September 11," *Africa Notes*, no. 7 (Washington, DC: Center for Strategic and International Studies, 2002).
- 188 Iyob, Ruth: "The Eritrean Experiment: a Cautious Pragmatism?," *Journal of Modern African Studies*, vol. 35, no. 4 (1997), pp. 647-673; and Tronvoll, Kjetil: "The Process of Nation-Building in Post-War Eritrea: Created from Below or Directed from Above?," *ibid.*, vol. 36, no. 3 (1998), pp. 461-482; Connell, Dan: "Inside the EPLF: The Origins of the 'People's Party' and Its Role in the Liberation of Eritrea," *Review of African Political Economy*, vol. 28, no. 89 (2001), pp. 345-364; Hedru, Debessay: "Eritrea: Transition to Dictatorship, 1991-2003," *ibid.*, vol. 30, no. 97 (2003), pp. 435-444.
- 189 Connell, Dan: "Eritrea: On a Slow Fuse," in Rotberg (ed.): *op. cit.* (note 50), pp. 64-92; Pateman, Roy: "Trend Report: Eritrea: W(h)ither the Jihad?" *Journal of Contingencies and Crisis Management*, vol. 3, no. 4 (1995), pp. 241-246; Iyob, Ruth: "Shifting Terrain: Dissidence versus Terrorism in Eritrea," in "Terrorism in the Horn of Africa" (*op.cit.*, note 40), pp. 11-13; Rabasa, Angel, Peter Chalk, Kim Cragin, Sara A. Daly, Heather S. Gregg, Theodore W. Karasik, Kevin A. O'Brien & William Rosenau: *Beyond al-Qaeda*, vol. 2: "The Outer Rings of the Terrorist Universe" (Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 2006), pp. 44-49. See also "The Deputy Amir of the Eritrean Islamic Jihad Movement, Abul Bara' Hassan Salman: The Governing Regime is a Terrorist Regime Which Acts with Enmity against the Eritrean People," at [www.fas.org/irp/world/ para/docs/eritrea.htm](http://www.fas.org/irp/world/para/docs/eritrea.htm).
- 190 Marchal, Roland: "Chad/Darfur: How Two Crises Merge," *Review of African Political Economy*, vol. 33, no. 109 (2006), pp. 467-482; De Waal, Alex: "Sudan: International Dimensions to the State and Its Crisis," *Occasional Paper*, no. 3 (London: Crisis States Research Centre, LSE, 2007); International Crisis Group: "Unifying Darfur's Rebels: A Prerequisite for Peace," *Africa Briefing*, no. 32 (Brussels: ICG, 2005) p. 16-17; *idem*: "Getting the UN Into Darfur," *ibid.*, no. 43 (2006), pp. 1 and 6; *idem*: "Darfur: Revitalising the Peace Process," *Africa Report*, no. 125 (Brussels: ICG, 2007), *passim*.
- 191 "Report of the Secretary-General on the Situation in Somalia," (25 June 2007), UN Documents, no. S/2007/381, p. 6.
- 192 IRIN: "Somalia: Gov't, Islamic Leaders to Talk Peace in Sudan," IRIN News, 21 June 2006.

- 193 On Islamism in Kenya see Oded, Arye: *Islam and Politics in Kenya* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2000), *passim*; idem: "Islamic Extremism in Kenya: The Rise and Fall of Sheikh Khalid Balala," *Journal of Religion in Africa*, vol. 26, no. 4 (1996), pp. 406-415; O'Brien, Donald B. *Cruise: Symbolic Confrontations. Muslims Imagining the State in Africa* (London: Hurst & Co. 2003), pp. 92-97; Haynes: *loc. cit.* (note 50); Krause, Volker & Eric E. Otenyo: "Terrorism and the Kenyan Public," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, vol. 28, no. 2 (2005), pp. 99-112. See also Møller, Bjørn: "Political Islam in Kenya," forthcoming in an anthology edited by Hussein Solomon & Akeem Fadare: *Political Islam and the State in Africa*, but also published as DIIS Working Paper no. 2006/22. On the historical background see Berg, F.J. "The Swahili Community of Mombasa, 1500-1900," *Journal of African History*, vol. 9, no. 1 (1968), pp. 35-56; Oliver, Roland & Anthony Atmore: *Medieval Africa, 1250-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 194-198; Spear, Thomas: "Early Swahili History Reconsidered," *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, vol. 33, no. 2 (2000), pp. 257-290; Holway, James D.: "C.M.S. Contact with Islam in East Africa before 1914," *Journal of Religion in Africa*, vol. 4, no. 3 (1971), pp. 200-212; Schacht, Joseph: "Notes on Islam in East Africa," *Studia Islamica*, no. 23 (1965), pp. 91-136; Carmichael, Tim: "British 'Practice' towards Islam in the East Africa Protectorate: Muslim Officials, Waqf Administration, and Secular Education in Mombasa and Environs, 1895-1920," *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs*, vol. 17, no. 2 (1997), pp. 293-309; Swartz, Marc J.: "Religious Courts, Community, and Ethnicity among the Swahili of Mombasa: An Historical Study of Social Boundaries," *Africa: Journal of the International Africa Institute*, vol. 49, no. 1 (1979), pp. 29-41.
- 194 Human Rights Watch: "People Fleeing Somalia Secretly Detained," *Human Rights News*, 30 March 2007, at <http://hrw.org/english/docs/2007/03/30/kenya15624.htm>; Amnesty International: "Kenya: Thousands of Somali Refugees and Asylum-Seekers Denied Refuge," *AI Index*, AFR 32/004/2007 (2 May 2007); idem: "Kenya/Ethiopia/Somalia. Horn of Africa: Unlawful Transfers in the 'War on Terror'," *ibid.*, AFR 25/006/2007 (25 May 2007); Menkhaus: *loc. cit.* (note 155), pp. 381-382.
- 195 See the communique from the Special Summit on Somalia, 15 October 2004, available at www.issafrica.org/AF/RegOrg/unity_to_union/pdfs/igad/somalicommoc04.pdf
- 196 See the "Nairobi Declaration of the 11th Summit of Heads of State and Government of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD)," adopted 20 March 2006, available at www.issafrica.org/AF/RegOrg/unity_to_union/pdfs/igad/11thsummit.pdf
- 197 IRIN: "Somalia: Regional Body Imposes Sanctions against 'Warlords'," *IRIN News*, 14 June 2006.
- 198 "Communique on Somalia by the Extraordinary Meeting of the IGAD Assembly of Heads of State and Government" (28 January 2007), at www.issafrica.org/dynamic/administration/file_manager/file_links/IGADSOMJAN07.PDF
- 199 On the AU's piecemeal construction of a machinery for conflict management see Powell, Kristiana: *The African Union's Emerging Peace and Security Regime* (Pretoria: ISS, 2006); Mwanasali, Musifiky: "From the Organisation of African Unity to the African Union," in Baregu & Landsberg (eds.): *op. cit.* (note 2), pp. 205-224; Schoeman, Maxi: "Imagining a Community—The African Union as an Emerging Security Community," *Strategic Review for Southern Africa*, vol. 24, no. 1 (2002), pp. 1-26; Kent, Vanessa & Mark Malan: "The African Standby Force. Progress and Prospects," *African Security Review*, vol. 12, no. 3 (2003), pp. 71-81; Nieuwkerk, Anthoni van: "The Role of AU and NEPAD in Africa's New Security Regime," in Shannon Field (ed.): *Peace in Africa. Towards a Collaborative Security Regime* (Johannesburg: Institute for Global Dialogue, 2004), pp. 41-62; Malan, Mark: "New Tools in the Box?: Towards a Stand-by Force for the AU," *ibid.*, pp. 193-224; Motuni, Tsepe: "Logistical and Capacity Considerations Surrounding a Stand-by Force," *ibid.*, pp. 251-264; Møller, Bjørn: "The Pros and Cons of Subsidiarity: The Role of African Regional and Sub-Regional Organisations in Ensuring Peace and Security in Africa," in Anne Hammerstad (ed.): *People, States and Regions. Building a Collaborative Security Regime in Southern Africa* (Johannesburg: South African Institute of International Affairs, 2005), pp. 23-82; Touray, Omar A.: "The Common African Defence and Security Policy," *African Affairs*, vol. 104, no. 417 (2005), pp. 635-656; Denning, Mike: "A Prayer for Marie: Creating an Effective African Standby Force," *Parameters*, Winter 2004/5, pp. 102-117; Ramsbotham, Alex, Alhaji M.S. Bah & Fanny Chalder: "Enhancing African Peace and Security Capacity: a Useful Role for the UK and the G8?" *International Affairs*, vol. 81, no. 2 (2005), pp. 325-339.
- 200 Anonymous: *loc. cit.* (note 115), p. 254.
- 201 IRIN: "Somalia: AU Seeks Troops for Peace Mission," *IRIN News*, 31 January 2007; idem: "Somalia: African Union Discusses Peacekeeping Mission," *ibid.*, 13 February 2007; idem: "Somalia-Uganda: AU Mission Will Not Impose Peace—Museveni," *ibid.*, 1 March 2007; idem: "Somalia: AU Troops Arrive in Somalia as Exodus Continues," *ibid.*, 6 March 2007; idem: "Somalia: 'We'll Fight Back if Attacked', AU Troops Say," *ibid.*, 7 March 2007; idem: "Somalia: A Tortuous Road Ahead in Search of Peace," *ibid.*, 12 March 2007. See also the reports of the Chairperson of the Commission on the Situation in Somalia, prepared for the 69th and 80th meetings of the AU's Peace and Security Council, 19th January and 18th July, respectively, AU Documents, PSC/PR/2(LXIX) and PSC/PR/2(LXXX); Baker, Deane-Peter: "The AU Standby Force and the Challenge of Somalia," *African Security Review*, vol. 16, no. 1 (2007), pp. 120-123.
- 202 All documents are available at the Group's website, www.un.org/sc/committees/751/index.shtml.
- 203 "Report of the Monitoring Group on Somalia pursuant to Security Council Resolution 1630 (2005)," UN Documents, no. S/2006/229, pp. 10-14 & *passim*; and "Report of the Monitoring Group on Somalia pursuant to Security Council Resolution 1676 (2006)," *ibid.*, no. S/2006/913, pp. 11-21 & *passim*.
- 204 IRIN: "Somalia: Gov't Welcomes Authorisation of Peacekeeping Force," *IRIN News*, 22 February 2007.

- 205 “Report of the Secretary-General on the Situation in Somalia Pursuant to Paragraphs 3 and 9 of Security Council Resolution 1744 (2007),” UN Documents, no. S/2007/2004, pp. 12-15; “Report of the Secretary-General on the Situation in Somalia,” *ibid.*, no. S/2007/381 (25 June 2007), pp. 8-12.
- 206 “Somalia: Arab League Mediators Meet Govt and Islamic Delegations,” IRIN News, 22 June 2006; “Somalia: Joint Mission to Consult Somali Leaders,” *ibid.*, 30 June 2006.
- 207 “Communique of the International Contact Group on Somalia” (5 January 2007), at www.issafrica.org/dynamic/administration/file_manager/file_links/ICCSOMALIAJAN07.PDF
- 208 Menkhaus: *loc cit.* (note 155), p. 389.
- 209 *Ibid.*, p. 363.
- 210 *Ibid.*, p. 358; *idem*: “The Somali Catastrophe” (*loc. cit.*, note 164).
- 211 Statement by Al-Zawahiri, July 2007, quoted in Blanchard, Christopher: “Al Qaeda: Statements and Evolving Ideology,” CRS Reports for Congress, no. RL32759 (Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service, 2007), pp. 13-14.

**DIIPER RESEARCH SERIES
WORKING PAPERS:**

- No. 1. *Gorm Winther*: Democracy and Power in Greenland – the Appearance of a New Class?, 27 pp, 2007.
- No. 2. *Angathevar Baskaran & Mammo Muchie*: The Making of the Indian National Innovation Systems: Lessons on the specific characteristics of the domestic and the external co-evolutions of technologies, institutions and incentives, 32 pp, 2007.
- No. 3. *Wang Weyi*: Chinese Culture of Social Interactions: Current Sequential Organizations in Gift Offering and Acceptance, 15 pp, 2007.
- No. 4. *Angathevar Baskaran & Mammo Muchie*: The Impact of the National Innovation Systems on the Flow and Benefits of Foreign Direct Investment to National Economics, 38 pp, 2008.
- No. 5. *Ann Sasa List-Jensen*: Economic Development and Authoritarianism - A Case Study on the Korean Developmental State, 27 pp, 2008.
- No. 6. *Berhanu Gutema Balcha*: Ethnicity and restructuring of the state in Ethiopia, 24 pp, 2008.
- No. 7. *Angathevar Baskaran & Mammo Muchie*: Foreign Direct Investment and Internationalization: The Case of BRICS Economics, 33 pp, 2008.
- No. 8. *Introduction and Edited by Li Xing*: Workshop Volume – The Rise of China and Its Impact on the Existing Capitalist World System, 214 pp, 2008.
- No. 9. *Tesfatsion Medhanie*: Constitution-making, Legitimacy and Regional Integration: An Approach to Eritrea’s Predicament and Relations with Ethiopia, 36 pp, 2008.
- No. 10. *Li Xing*: The Development of “Four China” in Sino-Western Relations, 17 pp, 2009.
- No. 11. *Eshetu Bekele & Mammo Muchie*: Promoting micro, small and medium Enterprises (MSMEs) for sustainable rural Livelihood, 21 pp, 2009.
- No. 12. *Kelvin Harewood*: The philosophical and practical basis for peace-building in the Horn of Africa and beyond, 18 pp, 2009.
- No. 13. *Abdulkadir Osman Farah*: Diaspora involvement in the development of Somalia, 24 pp, 2009.
- No. 14. *Amira Osman*: Sudanese women in civil society and their roles in post-conflict reconstruction, 9 pp, 2009.
- No. 15. *Berhanu Gutema Balcha*: Constitutionalism in the Horn of Africa: Lesson from the new constitution of Ethiopia, 19 pp, 2009.

- No. 16 *Bjørn Møller*: The Horn of Africa and the US “War on Terror” with special Focus on Somalia, 54 pp, 2009.